ओ३म्

# अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

## BOOK THIRD.

### CHAPTER I.

—:o:—

**प्रत्ययः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ आ पञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः प्रत्ययसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः, प्रकृत्युपपदोपाधिविकारागमान्वर्जयित्वा ॥**

1. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix, except the 'prakriti' or base (such as गुप्, तिज्, कित् in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix being सन्), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as स्तम्ब, शकृत in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the 'upâdhi' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as पशु in III. 2. 25 is an upâdhi); in the sûtra, III. 2. 25, the word हरति is a prakriti, दृति and नाथ are upapadas, पशु is an upâdhi, the affix being इन्, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes तव्यत्, तव्य, अनीयर् taught in III. 1. 96, as कर्तव्यम्, करणीयम् 'to be done'.

**परश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः, च, ( प्रत्ययः ) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ परश्च स भवति धातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाद्वा यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥**

2. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikâra' or regulating sûtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhâshâ' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhâtû' or root, or the 'prâtipadika' or crude form; as कर्त्तव्यम् and तैत्तिरीयम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in this sûtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed *after* a root &c.; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyâya. These latter, such as Unâdi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

**आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-उदात्तः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तश्च स भवति यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥**

3. That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

This sûtra may also be treated as a Paribhâshâ or an Adhikâra sûtra. The udâtta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix तव्य has udâtta on the first अ, as in कर्त्तव्यम्. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special

rule laid down. Thus, rule VI. I. 163, declares that affixes having an indicatory च will have udâtta on the final ; those having an indicatory र have accent on the middle (VI. 1. 217) ; those that have an indicatory प are anudâtta ; those having an indicatory ञ, throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193) ; the affixes having an indicatory ञ and न throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. 1. 197) ; the taddhita affix having an indicatory क takes acute accent on the final (VI. 1. 165) ; and the affix having an indicatory त is svarita (VI. 1. 185).

**अनुदात्तौ सुप्पितौ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तौ, सुप्-पितौ, (प्रत्ययः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपः पितश्च प्रत्यया अनुदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicatory प (pit) are anudâtta.

This is an exception (apavâda) to the last aphorism. As दृषदौ 'two stones' ; the case-affix औ is anudâtta ; so also दृषदः ; so also पचति ; The third person singular affix तिप् has an indicatory प, and is anudâtta. But not पचतः.

**गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः सन् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्-तिज्-किद्भ्यः, सन् ( प्रत्ययः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप गोपने, तिज निशाने, कित निवासे, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निन्दाक्षमाव्याधिप्रतीकारेषु सन्निष्यतेऽन्यत्र यथाप्राप्तं प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

5. After the verbs गुप्, तिज and कित्, comes the affix सन्.

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to 'despise', 'to endure' and 'to heal' respectively, though they ordinarily mean 'to hide', 'to whet' and 'to dwell'. As जुगुप्सते 'he censures or despises'; तितिक्षते 'he endures patiently'; चिकित्सते 'he heals'. But गोपायति 'he protects'; तेजयति 'he sharpens'; संकेतयति 'he makes sign'.

When सन् is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. 1. 9. Thus, गुप् +सन्=जुगुप् +स (VII. 4. 62)= जुगुप्स् to which is added the third person singular termination अते=जुगुप्सते.

**मान्बधदान्शान्भ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मान्-बध-दान्-शान्भ्यो, दीर्घः, च, अभ्यासस्य, ( सन्, प्रत्ययः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ मान पूजायाम्, बध बन्धने, दान अवखण्डने, शान अवतेजने, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति, अभ्यासस्य चेकारस्य दीर्घादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्रापि सन्नर्थविशेष इष्यते ॥

6. The affix सन् comes after the verbs मान 'to honor', बध 'to bind', दान 'to cut' and शान 'to whet', and long ई is the substitute of the इ (VII. 4. 79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1. 4) syllable.

The सन् is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below: मीमांसते 'he investigates', बीभत्सते 'he loathes', दीदांसते 'he straightens', शीशांसते 'he sharpens'. The verbs given in this and the preceding sûtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word 'optionally' in the next sûtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of सन् becomes optional. Thus मानयति, बाधयति, दानयति and निशानयति are also valid forms.

धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥

धातोः, कर्मणः, समान-कर्तृकाद्, इच्छायाम्, वा, ( सन्, प्रत्ययः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मको यो धातुरिषिणैव समानकर्तृकस्तस्मादिच्छायामर्थे वा सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आशङ्कायामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इच्छासन्नन्तात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. The affix सन् is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, कृ 'to do'; चिकीर्षति=कर्तुमिच्छति 'he wishes to do'. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix सन् is to be added. Thus प्रकर्तुमैच्छत् = प्राचिकीर्षत्.

Why do we say कर्मणः 'after (a root expressing) an object'? The affix will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus गमनेनैच्छति; here there is no affix. But गन्तुमिच्छति will be जिगमिषति.

Why do we say समानकर्तृकात् 'when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished'? Observe देवदत्तस्य भोजनमिच्छति यज्ञदत्तः. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb इच्छति; but he is not agent of the action भोजनं; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say इच्छायाम् 'when the sense is that of wishing'? Observe कर्तुं जानाति 'he knows how to make'; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word वा 'optionally' shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus कर्तुमिच्छति or चिकीर्षति.

The word धातोः being especially used in this sûtra, shows that this सन् is an ârdhadhâtuka affix, while the सन् taught in the two preceding sûtras, will not get this designation.

*Vart*: The affix सन् is added, when the sense is that of 'in imminent danger'; as शाङ्कं पतिष्यति कूलम् = पिपतिषति कूलम् 'the bank is in imminent danger of falling down'. So also श्वा मुमूर्षति.

*Vart*: There is no affixing of सन् after a verb which has already taken सन् in the sense of wishing. As चिकीर्षितुमिच्छति. But the सन् of III. I. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have जुगुप्सिषते, मीमांसिषते.

**सुप आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, आत्मनः, क्यच्, (धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, च) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मण एषितुरेवात्मसंबन्धिनः सुबन्तादिच्छायामर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्यचि मान्ताव्ययप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि परेच्छायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, *i. e.*, verbs derived from nominal bases. As, पुत्र 'son', पुत्रीयति 'he wishes for a son of his own' (पुत्र+क्यच्=पुत्री+य=पुत्रीय) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33).

Why do we use the word सुप्? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in महान्तं पुत्रमिच्छति, the affix comes only after पुत्रम् and not महान्तं पुत्रं.

Why do we say *âtmanah*? Observe राज्ञः पुत्रमिच्छति 'he wishes a son for the king'. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is for another and not for one's own self.

The क in क्यच् is for the sake of classing *kyach, kyań and kyash* in one common group by simply using the word क्य, as in sûtra नः क्ये I. 4. 15; while च् distinguishes *kyach* from *kyań* &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udâtta by III. 1. 3.

*Vart*:—In affixing *kyach*, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in म् and of Indeclinables. Thus in इदमिच्छति, उच्चैरिच्छति, there is no affixing.

*Vart*:—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As मा त्वा वृका अघायवो विदन्. Here अघायु (pl. अघायवः) is

formed by *kyach*, अ being added by III. 2. 170, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 120. 7; 27. 3 &c.

**काम्यच्च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम्यच्, च, (सुपः, आत्मनः, धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, वा ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तात्कर्मण आत्मनेच्छायां काम्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. And the affix काम्यच् is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

Thus, पुत्रकाम्यति 'he wishes for a son of his own'.

The making of this a separate sûtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sûtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, where the anuvṛitti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of *kâmyach*. The क of *kâmyach* is not indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter क indicatory, does not apply; because no particular purpose would be served by making indicatory. Or the affix *kâmyach* may be considered to have an indicatory च before it *i.e.* the affix being *chakâmya*.

**उपमानादाचारे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानाद्, आचारे, ( धातोः, कर्मणः, सुपः, वा, क्यच् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्मणः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case-affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, पुत्रमिवाचरति छात्रं = पुत्रीयति छात्रम् 'he treats the pupil as a son'

*Vart*: So also in a locative case. As प्रासादीयति कुट्यां 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. पर्यङ्कीयति मंचके 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.

**कर्त्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तुः, क्यङ्, सलोपः, च, ( उपमानाद्, आचारे, सुपः, धातोः, वा ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्त्तुः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, सकारस्य च लोपो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आचारेऽवगल्भक्लीबहोडेभ्यः क्विब्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्य इत्येके ॥

11. The affix क्यङ् is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa) of the final स of the noun; if it ends with a स.

Thus, श्येनेवाचरति काकः, श्येनायते, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; अप्सरायते 'she behaves like an Apsarâ'; पयस्यते or पयायते 'it becomes milk'; (श्येन + य= श्येना + य = श्येनाय, VII. 4. 25).

In the words ओजस् — ओजायते, and अप्सरस् — अप्सरायते the final स् is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of पयस् where the elision is optional, as पयायते or पयस्यते.

The elision of स् refers to the final स् and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस—हंसायते; सारस —सारसायते; here the स is not elided as it is not final. See. I. 1. 52.

*Vart*:—After the words अवगल्भ, क्लीब, and होड, the affix क्विप् is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As अवगल्भते or अवगल्भायते, क्लीबते or क्लीबायते, होडते or होडायते. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of *kyań*.

*Vart*:—According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix क्विप् comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As अश्वति or अश्वायते, गर्दभति or गर्दभायते.

भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यच्वेर्लोपश्च हलः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृश-आदिभ्यः, भुवि, अच्वेः, लोपः, च, हलः, ( क्यङ् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृश इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽच्व्यन्तेभ्यो भुवि अभूततद्भावेऽर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, हलन्तानां च लोपः ॥

12. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms भृश and the rest, which do not end with the affix च्वि (V. 4. 50); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words, if they end in a consonant.

Thus, अभृशो भृशो भवति=भृशायते 'he becomes much (from a little)'; शीघ्रायते 'he becomes swift (from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atmanepadi (I.3.12).

The phrase अच्वेः 'not ending in the adverbial affix ई', refers to every one of the words belonging to the class भृशादि. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix च्वि itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has

taken the affix च्वि, will not again take क्यङ् in that very sense. The repetition of च्वि here shows that the words भृश् &c. never take the affix च्वि, in the sense of 'something becoming what it was not before'. Thus the present sûtra is an exception to sûtra V. 4. 50 which ordains च्वि.

भृशादिः ।

भृश, शीघ्र, मन्द, चपल, पण्डित, उत्सुक, उन्मनस्, अभिमनस्, सुमनस्, दुर्मनस्, रहस्, रेहस्, शश्वत्, बृहत्, वेहत्, नृषत्, शुधि, अधर, ओजस्, वर्चस्, (विमनस्, रभन्, रोहत्, हन्, शुच्चिस्, अरजस्) ।

**लोहितादिडाज्भ्यः क्यष् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहित-आदि-डाज्भ्यः, क्यष्, (भुवि)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लोहितादिभ्यो डाजन्तेभ्यश्च भवत्यर्थे क्यष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix क्यष् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words लोहित, &c. and after those that end with the affix डाच् (V. 4. 57), when these words do not take the affix च्वि (V. 4. 50).

Thus लोहितायते or लोहितायति 'he becomes red'; पटपटायते or पटपटायति 'he makes a noise like patapata'; (लोहित + य=लोहिता + य=लोहिताय, VII. 4. 25).

The word पटपटायते is formed by adding the affix *dâch* to the word पट which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix *kyash*. The affix *dâch* is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called *lohitâdi*. The Vârtika, therefore, proposes that the sûtra should read without the word *âdi*, as लोहितडिभ्यः क्यष्; 'the affix *kyash* comes after *lohita*, and words ending in *dâch*'.

This rule applies to words other than भृशादि which are always invariably Atmanepadi owing to the ङित् affix क्यङ्, while क्यष् is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus वर्मायति or वर्मायते, निद्रायति or निद्रायते, करुणायति or करुणायते, कृपायति or कृपायते. The *lohitâdi* is an आकृतिगण, the following being some of the words of this class; लोहित, नील, हरित, पीत, मद्र, फेन and मन्द.

The indicatory क in क्यष् is not for the sake of prohibiting *guna* and *vriddhi* (I. 1. 5). For *guna* or *vriddhi* takes place in a *dhâtu* followed by a *sârvadhâtuka* or *ârdhadhâtuka* affix. The affix क्यष् is not added to a *dhâtu* but to a nominal stem : hence there is no scope for the operation of *guna* &c. The क is for the sake of grouping क्यच्, क्यङ् and क्यष् in one class as क्य; as in sûtra न : क्ये (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in न among those enumerated above.

The affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three अस्, भू, or कृ; as पटपटाकरोति, -भवति or -स्यात्. The present sûtra teaches by implication that when क्यष् follows डाच्, the above restriction, that the verb should be कृ, भू or अस्, is not applicable. Here डाच् comes without the addition of कृ, भू or अस्ति.

The anuvṛitti of अच्वेः comes from the last sûtra; and hence the affix क्यष् is added in the sense of अभूततद्भाव *i. e.* something becoming that which it was not before.

**कष्टाय क्रमणे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष्टाय, क्रमणे, (क्यङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कष्टशब्दाच्चतुर्थी समर्थात् क्रमणार्थेऽनार्जवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सत्रकष्टकक्षकृच्छ्रगहनेभ्यः कण्वचिकीर्षायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

14. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कष्ट 'mischief', when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कष्टाय कर्मणे क्रामति=कष्टायते 'he is assiduous for trouble, *i. e.* he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots'.

*Vart*:—The affix क्यङ् comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words सत्र, कष्ट, कक्ष, कृच्छ्र and गहन; as, सत्रायते, कष्टायते, कक्षायते, कृच्छ्रायते, and गहनायते.

When the sense is not of 'evil', the affix is not added, as भजः कष्टं क्रामति.

**कर्मणो रोमन्थतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणः, रोमन्थत-पोभ्यां, वर्त्ति-चरोः, (क्यङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ रोमन्थशब्दात्तपःशब्दाच्च कर्मणो यथाक्रमं वर्त्तिचरोरर्थयोः क्यङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हनुचलन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तपसः परस्मैपदं च ॥

15. The affix क्यङ् is employed after the words, रोमन्थ 'ruminating' and तपस 'austerity', when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रोमन्थं वर्तयति=रोमन्थायते गौः 'the cow ruminates.'

*Vart*: This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here; as, कीटो रोमन्थं वर्तयति.

*Vart*: The Prasmaipada affixes are used after the word तपस्; as तपश्चरति=तपस्यति, 'he performs austerity'.

बाष्पोष्मभ्यामुद्वमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाष्प-ऊष्मभ्यां, उद्वमने, (कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाष्पशब्दादूष्मशब्दाच्च कर्मण उद्वमनेऽर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ फेनाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix क्यङ् is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words बाष्प 'vapour' and ऊष्म 'heat' as the object of the action.

Thus, बाष्पायते 'it emits vapour'; ऊष्मायते 'it sends out heat'. So also फेनायते 'it ejects froth'.

शब्दवैरकलहाभ्रकण्वमेघेभ्यः करणे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-वैर-कलह-अभ्र-कण्व-मेघेभ्यः, करणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्द वैर कलह अभ्र कण्व मेघ इत्येतेभ्यः करणे करोत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुदिनदुर्दिननीहारेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अटाट्टाशीकाकोटापोटासोटाकष्टाग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz :—शब्द 'sound', वैर 'hostility', कलह 'strife', अभ्र 'cloud', कण्व 'sin' and मेघ 'cloud'.

Thus, शब्दं करोति = शब्दायते 'he makes a noise'. So also वैरायते, कलहायते, अभ्रायते, कण्वायते, मेघायते ।

*Vart:*—It should be stated that the affix comes after सुदिन, दुर्दिन and नीहार ; as, सुदिनायते, दुर्दिनायते, नीहारायते ।

*Vart:*—So also should be included the words अटा, अट्टा, शीका, कोटा, पोटा सोटा and कष्टा ; as अटायते, अट्टायते, शीकायते, कोटायते, पोटायते, सोटायते and कष्टायते ।

The word करण in the sûtra is not the Grammatical *Karaṇa* or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of 'doing'.

सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृवेदनायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख-आदिभ्यः, कर्तृ-वेदनायाम्, (कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुखइत्येवमादिभ्यः कर्मभ्यो वेदनायामर्थेऽनुभवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति वेदयितुश्चेत्कर्त्तुः सम्बन्धीनि सुखादीनि भवन्ति ॥

18. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of feeling, comes

after the words सुख 'pleasure' &c., when the pleasure &c. belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखायते 'he feels pleasure'; दुःखायते 'he feels pain'.

Why do we say 'when the feeling belongs to the agent'? Observe सुखं वेदयति प्रसाधको देवदत्तस्य 'the valet knows the happiness of his master Devadatta.' Here the agent viz. a valet, is not the percipient of the 'happiness,' which belongs to his master; hence there is no affixing.

सुखादिः।

सुख, दुःख, तृप्त, गहन, कृच्छ्र, अस्र, अलीक, प्रतीप, करुण, कृपण, सोढ।

**नमोवरिवश्चित्रङः क्यच् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-वरिवस्-चित्रङः, क्यच्, ( करणे ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस् वरिवस् चित्रङ् इत्येतेभ्यो वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे पूजादौ ॥

19. The affix क्यच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz:— नमस् 'adoration', वरिवस् 'honor' and चित्र 'wonder'.

Thus नमस्यति देवान्, 'he worships the gods'; वरिवस्यति गुरून्, 'he honors or serves the elders'; चित्रीयते 'he astonishes ( makes it wonderful)'. The ङ् in चित्रङ् indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चित्र + य = चित्री + य (VII. 4. 33) = चित्रीय).

**पुच्छभाण्डचीवराण्णिङ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुच्छ-भाण्ड-चीवरात्, णिङ्, ( करणे ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पुच्छ भाण्ड चीवर इत्येतेभ्यो णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छादुदसने पर्यसने वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाण्डात्समाचयने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चीवरादर्जने परिधाने वा ॥

20. The affix णिङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz:—पुच्छ 'tail', भाण्ड 'pot' and चीवर 'rag'.

Thus उत्पुच्छयते 'he lifts up the tail', (the sense must be that of lifting or throwing about); सम्भाण्डयते 'he collects pots in a heap'; संचीवरयते भिक्षुः 'the beggar collects or wears rags'. Of the affix णिङ्, the effective portion is इ, the other letters are servile. The ङ indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and ण serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing णि, such as णिङ्, णिच् &c.

*Vart*:—After the word पुच्छ the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.

*Vart* :—After भाण्ड the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

*Vart* :—After चीवर the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wearing.

मुण्डमिश्रश्लक्ष्णलवणव्रतवस्त्रहलकलकृततूस्तेभ्यो णिच् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुण्ड-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्ण-लवण-व्रत-वस्त्र-हल-कल-कृत-तूस्तेभ्यः, णिच्, ( करणे ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुण्ड मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण लवण व्रत वस्त्र हल कल कृत तूस्त इत्येतेभ्यः करणे णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix णिच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz: मुण्ड 'shaving', मिश्र 'mixture', श्लक्ष्ण 'soft', लवण 'salt', व्रत 'vow', वस्त्र 'dress', हल 'plough', कल 'strife', कृत 'done', and तूस्त 'matted hair'.

Thus मुण्डयति 'he shaves'; मिश्रयति 'he mixes'; श्लक्ष्णयति 'he softens or alleviates'; लवणयति 'he salts'; पयोव्रतयति 'he fasts on milk'; संवस्त्रयति 'he covers with clothes *i. e.* dresses'; हलयति 'he ploughs'; कलयति 'he makes war'; कृतयति 'he appreciates kindness'; वितूस्तयति 'he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin'.

The affix after the word व्रत has the sense of 'eating' or 'abstaining therefrom'; as पयो व्रतयति 'he drinks milk,' वृषलान्नं व्रतयति 'he abstains from the food prepared by a low caste'; after the word वस्त्र the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हलि and कलि the sense is that of taking ; as हलिं गृह्णाति = हलयति. The words in the sûtra are हल and कल and not हलि and कलि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix चङ् (III. 1. 48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were सन् ; *i.e.* the सन्वद्भाव does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4. 93). Thus the Aorists are अजहलत् and अचकलत् ; and not अजीहलत् and अचीकलत् which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94. if there was सन्वद्भाव.

The word तूस्त means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

धातोरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यङ् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः, एक-अचः, हल-आदेः, क्रिया-समभिहारे, यङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकाज् यो धातुर्हलादिः क्रियासमभिहारे वर्त्तते तस्माद्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, पौनःपुन्यं भृशार्थो वा क्रियासमभिहारः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूचिसूत्रिमूत्र्यट्यर्त्यशूर्णोतीनां ग्रहणं यङ् विधावनेकाजहलाद्यर्थम् ॥

22. The affix यङ्, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase *kriyâ-samabhihâra* means repetition of the act or its intensity. As पच् 'to cook', पापच्यते 'he cooks again and again'; जाज्वल्यते 'he shines with great intensity'. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any *upasarga.* We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like प्राट् 'to go', (because the root अट् is preceded by the upasarga प्र); or जागृ 'to be awake,' (because it contains two vowels) ; or ईक्ष् 'to see' (because it begins with a vowel).

*Vart*:—The intensive affix यङ् comes after सूचि, सूत्रि, मूत्रि, अटि, अर्ति, अश and अर्णु, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, सोसूच्यते, सोसूत्र्यते, मोमूत्र्यते, अटाट्यते, अरार्यते, अशाश्यते, and प्रोर्णोनूयते.

The affix is not added in these cases भृशं शोभते or भृशं रोचते, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repetition we have रोरुच्यते and शोशुभ्यते.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as the root is ङित्.

**नित्यं कौटिल्ये गतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, कौटिल्ये, गतौ, (यङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिवचनाद्धातोः कौटिल्ये गम्यमाने नित्यं यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix यङ् invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus क्रम् 'to move', चंक्रम्यते 'he moves crookedly'. So also दन्द्रम्यते. After a verb of motion, the यङ् never expresses intensity or repetition ; so if the latter sense is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed ; as भृशं क्रामति 'he wanders much'. This is inferred from the word नित्य used in the sûtra *i. e.* यङ् always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

**लुपसदचरजपजभदहदशगृभ्यो भावगर्हायाम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप-सद्-चर-जप-जभ-दह-दंश-गृभ्यः, भाव-गर्हायाम्, (यङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लुप सद चर जप जभ दह दंश गृ इत्येतेभ्यो भावगर्हायां धात्वर्थगर्हायां यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix यङ् when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गर्हा) in respect of the sense

of the root (भाव) comes always after the following roots, viz:—लुप् 'to cut off', सद् 'to sit', चर् 'to walk', जप् 'to mutter silently any sacred formula', जभ् 'to gape or yawn', दह् 'to burn', दश् 'to bite' and गृ 'to swallow'.

Thus लोलुप्यते 'he cuts off badly'; सासद्यते 'he sits badly'; चंचूर्यते 'he walks badly'; जंजप्यते 'he recites badly'; so also जंजभ्यते, दन्दह्यते, दन्दश्यते, निजेगिल्यते. The affix यङ् does not come in the sense of repetition &c. after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As भृशं लुम्पति 'he cuts off much'.

Why do we say 'when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant'? Observe साधु जपति 'he recites well'. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say 'in regard to the action denoted by the root'? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus मन्त्रं जपति वृषलः 'the Sûdra recites the sacred mantras'. The word नित्य of the last aphorism is understood here also.

**सत्यापपाशरूपवीणातूलश्लोकसेनालोमत्वचवर्मवर्णचूर्णचुरादिभ्यो णिच् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्याप-पाश-रूप-वीणा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लोम-त्वच-वर्म-वर्ण-चूर्ण-चुर-आदिभ्यः, णिच् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यादिभ्यश्चूर्णपर्यन्तेभ्यश्चुरादिभ्यश्च णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अर्थ वेदसत्यानामापुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

25. The affix णिच् is employed after these words, viz:—सत्य 'truth' (which then takes the form of सत्याप as exhibited in the sûtra), पाश 'a fetter', रूप 'form', वीणा 'a lute', तूल 'cotton', श्लोक 'celebration', सेना 'an army', लोम 'the hair of the body', त्वच 'the skin', वर्म 'mail', वर्ण 'celebration', चूर्ण 'powder' and the verb of the Churâdi class.

Thus सत्यापयति 'he speaks truly'; विपाशयति 'he unfetters or liberates'; रूपयति 'he looks'; उपवीणयति 'he sings with the lute'; अनुतूलयति 'he makes a brush'; उपश्लोकयति 'he praises in verse'; अभिषेणयति 'he advances with the army'; अनुलोमयति 'he rubs over the hair'; त्वचयति 'he feels of the skin'; संवर्मयति 'he puts on the mail armour'; वर्णयति 'he celebrates or colors'; अवचूर्णयति he pulverises. The roots of the *Churâdi* class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhâtupâtha. After the verbs of the *Churâdi* class, the affix णिच् is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरयति 'he steals'. So also चिन्तयति.

*Vart*:—The words अर्थ, वेद and सत्य take the augment आप् before the affix णिच्; as, सत्यापयति, अर्थापयति, वेदापयति. The whole equation is thus shown अर्थ + आपुक् + णिच्+शप् + तिप् = अर्थ + आप्+इ + अति = अर्थापि + अति = अर्थापयति (VII. 3. 85). The final syllable called टि is not elided in this case, *i.e.* of अर्थाप् the syllable आप् is not elided before णिच्, as it would have been by VI.4.155. The reason is that if आप् was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix णिच् has the sense of 'unfettering' after the word पाश, of 'seeing' after रूप, of 'singing in accompaniment' after वीणा, of 'brushing' after तूल, of 'praising' after श्लोक, of 'leading' after सेना, of 'rubbing' after लोम, of 'taking' after त्वच्, of 'putting on' after वर्म and of 'taking' after वर्ण.

## हेतुमति च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतुमति, च, (धातोः, णिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुः स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तुः प्रयोजकः तदीयो व्यापारः प्रेषणादिलक्षणो हेतुमान् तस्मिन्नभिधेये धातोर्णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्करोतीत्युपसंख्यानं सूत्रयत्याद्यर्थम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानात्कृतस्तदाचष्ट इति णिच् कृल्लुक् प्रकृति प्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङ्लोपश्च कालात्यन्तसंयोगे मर्यादायाम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चित्रीकरणे प्रापि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नक्षत्रयोगे ज्ञि ॥

26. The affix णिच् is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The *hetu* (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent; an operation relating to the *hetu*, such as *directing* &c. is called *hetumat*; as कटं कारयति 'he causes to prepare a mat'; ओदनं पाचयति 'he makes the rice to be cooked'. In other words, the affix णिच् forms the causative verbs.

*Vart*:—The affix comes also in the sense of 'he does that' after the words सूत्र &c. Thus सूत्रं करोति = सूत्रयति 'he makes sûtra.' So also मूत्रयति.

*Vart*:—After words ending in कृत् affixes and describing legends, comes the affix णिच्, when the sense is 'he does that'. The कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic (प्राकृतिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कंसवधमाचष्टे = कंसं घातयति; बलिबन्धमाचष्टे = बलिं बन्धयति; राजागमनमाचष्टे = राजानम् आगमयति.

*Vart*:—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्तिक, the upasarga आ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus आरात्रि विवासं आचष्टे = रात्रिं विवासयति; here the आ of आरात्रि is elided.

*Vart*:—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vartika the affix णिच् has the sense of 'making wonderful', meaning 'attaining that'. Thus

उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं सभावयते = सूर्यमुद्गमयति 'going from Ujjain he finds the sun rise in Mahismati (wonderful speed)'.

*Vart* :—When an asterism is in composition and the sense is that of knowing, there comes the affix णिच् after a word ending in कृत् affix, the कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic form and the base is as if the agent. Thus पुष्ययोगं जानाति = पुष्येण योजयति. So also मघाभिर्योजयति.

**कण्ड्वादिभ्यो यक् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कण्डू-आदिभ्यः, (यक्)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्डूञ् इत्येवमादिभ्यो यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix यक् is employed after the roots कण्डु 'to itch', &c.

Thus, कण्डूयति or कण्डूयते 'he itches or scratches'. This word takes terminations indicatory. The words कण्डु &c. are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.

कण्ड्वादिः ।

कण्डूञ्, मन्तु, हृणीङ्, वल्गु, असु, मनस्, महीङ्, लेट्, लोट्, इरस्, इरज्, इरञ्, दुवस्, मेधा, कुषुभ, मगध, तन्तस्, पम्पस्, सुख, दुःख, सपर, अर, भिषज्, भिष्णज्, इषुध, चरण, चुरण, भुरण, तुरण, गद्गद, एला, केला, खेला, लिट् and लोट् ।

**गुपूधूपविच्छिपणिपनिभ्यः आयः ॥ २८ ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपू-धूप-विच्छि-पणि-पनिभ्यः, आयः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपू रक्षणे, धूप सन्तापे, विच्छ गतौ, पण व्यवहारे स्तुतौ च, पन च, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्य आय प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix आय comes after गुपू 'to protect', धूप 'to heat', विच्छ 'to approach', पण 'to contract or praise' and पन 'to praise'.

Thus गोपायति 'he protects'; धूपायति 'he heats'; so also, विच्छायति, पणायति, and पनायति.

The verb पण being read along with पन् 'to praise,' has here the sense of praise only ; so that the affix does not come after the verb पण् when it means 'to make a contract' ; as शतस्य पणते, सहस्रस्य पणते.

The verbs in आय do not take Atmanepada affixes, as there is no indicatory letter to show that.

**ऋतेरीयङ् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतेः, ईयङ् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतिः सौत्रो धातुर्घृणायां वर्त्तते तत ईयङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ईयङ् comes after the sûtra root ऋति 'to reproach'.

The indicatory ङ shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada ; as ऋतीयते 'he pities or reproaches'; so also, ऋतीयाते, ऋतीयन्ते.

कमेर्णिङ् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कमेः, णिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कमेर्धातोर्णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix णिङ् comes after the root कम 'to desire'.

The ण indicates *vriddhi* (VII. 2. 115) and ङ shows Atmanepada ; as, कामयते 'he desires'; so also कामयेते and कामयन्ते.

आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा ॥३१॥ पदानि ॥आय-आदयः, आर्द्ध-धातुके, वा, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकविषये आर्द्धधातुकविवक्षायामायादयः प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

31. The affixes आय and those that follow it, (i.e. आय, ईयङ् and णिङ्) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one's self with an ârdhadhâtuka affix.

Thus ता 3rd. sing. of the Future is an ârdhadhâtuka affix. It is optional to retain the *âya* of *gopâya* before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोप्ता 'he will protect'. So also अर्तिता or ऋतीयिता ; कमिता or कामयिता.

But for this sûtra, the affixes आय &c. would have come always even when ârdhadhâtuka affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional. Therefore proper ârdhadhâtuka affixes should be applied when we retain आय &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the ârdhadhâtuka क्तिन् (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the feminine noun from the simple root, but the ârdhadhâtuka अ (III. 3. 102) will be employed in forming the feminine when आय &c. are retained. Thus गुप्तिः or गोपाया.

सनाद्यन्ता धातवः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्-आदि-अन्ताः, धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनाद्यन्ताः समुदाया धातुसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

32. All the words ending with the affixes सन् and others are called Dhâtu.

This extends the sphere of Dhâtu or roots already defined in sûtra I. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative roots. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c. as shown in the above examples. Thus चिकीर्ष 'to wish to do', कारि 'to

cause to do'; चेक्रिय 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कृ 'to do' and thus take शप् &c.

**स्यतासी लृलुटोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-तासी, लृ-लुटोः, (धातोः)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लृकारमुत्सृष्टानुबन्धं सामान्यमेकमेव तस्मिन् लुटि च परतो धातोर्यथासंख्य स्यतासी प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

33. When लृ and लुट् follow, then स्य and तासि are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

लृ is the common expression for लृङ् and लृट् formed by rejecting their special *anubandhas*, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses. लुट् is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus करिष्यति अकरिष्यत्, कर्ता. The इ of तासि is indicatory and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this ; as मन् 'to think', मन्ता 'he will think'.

**सिब्बहुलं लेटि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिप्, बहुलम्, लेटि, (धातोः)॥**

वृत्ति : ॥ धातोः सिप् प्रत्ययो भवति बहुलं लेटि परतः ॥

34. सिप् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when लेट् follows.

The tense called लेट् or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix सिप् is diversely added.

Thus जोषिषत्, तारिषत्, मन्दिषत्. Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus पताति विद्युत् उदधिं ज्यावयाति. Thus in Rig Veda I. 1. 2, वक्षति is an example of लेट् with सिप् ॥

**कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्-प्रत्ययाद्, आम्, अमन्त्रे, लिटि, ( प्रत्ययः, धातोः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कास् शब्द कुत्सायां, ततः प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्य आम् प्रत्ययो भवति लिटि परतोऽमन्त्रविषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कास्यनेकाच इति वक्तव्यम् चुलुम्पाद्यर्थम् ॥

35. आम् is the affix of the verb कास् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i. e. the derivative verbs), when लिट् follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कास् will be कासाम्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided ( II. 4. 81 ) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb भू or अस् or कृ is added. As कासांचक्रे 'he coughed'; चोरयामास 'he stole'. So also लोलूयांचक्रे.

This rule however does not apply to the Vedas; as कृष्णो नोनाव Rig. Veda I. 79. 2.

*Vart*:—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as चुलुम्पाञ्चकार, दरिद्राञ्चकार ॥

The final म् of आम् is not indicatory.

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्-आदेः, च, गुरुमतः, अनृच्छः, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजादिर्यो धातुर्गुरुमान् ऋच्छतिवर्जितस्तस्माच्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऊर्णोतेश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The affix आम् is used when लिट् follows, after a root beginning with a letter of इच् pratyâhâra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root ऋच्छ 'to go'.

Thus ईह 'to try', ईहांचक्रे 'he tried'; so also ऊहाञ्चक्रे 'he guessed', एधाञ्चक्रे 'he grieved'.

But ऋच्छ forms आनर्च्छ 'he failed or went'. This applies to monosyllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodially long, except अ or आ. The verb ऊर्णु 'to cover' is, however, an exception; its perfect is ऊर्णुनाव 'he covered'.

Why do we say 'beginning with इच् or any vowel except अ or आ'? Observe अर्द, Perfect आनर्द (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say 'heavy vowel'? Observe उख्, Perf. उवोख (VI. 4. 78) ऊखतुः, ऊखुः. Why do we say 'vowel'? Observe कुर्द, Perf. चुकूर्दे; पूढ्, Perf. पुपूढे.

दयायासश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दय-अय-आसः; च, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दय दानगतिरक्षणेषु, अय गतौ, आस उपवेशने, एतेभ्यश्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. After the verbs दय 'to give', 'to go' and 'to protect', अय 'to go', and आस 'to sit', there is the affix आम्, when लिट् follows.

Thus दयाञ्चक्रे 'he gave'; पलायांचक्रे 'he ran away'; आसांचक्रे 'he sat'.

उषविदजागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष-विद-जागृभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (आम्, प्रत्ययः, लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष दाहे, विद ज्ञाने, जागृ निद्राक्षये, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतोऽन्यतरस्यामाम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix आम् is optionally employed after these, viz:—उष् 'to burn', विद् 'to know', and जागृ 'to wake', when लिट् follows.

Thus भीषाञ्चकार or बिभाय, विदाञ्चकार or विवेद, जागराञ्चकार or जजागार. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विद as ending in a short अ, *guna* is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

भीह्रीभृहुवां श्लुवच्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-ह्री-भृ-हुवां, श्लुवत्, च, ( आम्, लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञिभी भये, ह्री लज्जायाम्, डुभृञ् धारणपोषणयोः, हु दानादानयोः, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम्, श्लाविव चास्मिन्कार्यं भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

39. आम् is optionally affixed, when लिट् follows, after these verbs भी 'to fear', ह्री 'to be ashamed', भृ 'to nourish', हु 'to sacrifice'; and when आम् is affixed, the effect is as if there were श्लु elision and the roots belonged to Hvâdi class.

The effect of श्लु is to cause reduplication by rule VI. 1. 10. As बिभयाञ्चकार or बिभाय, जिह्रयाञ्चकार or जिह्राय, बिभराञ्चकार or बभार, जुहवाञ्चकार or जुहाव.

कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि, ॥ कृञ्, च, अनुप्रयुज्यते, लिटि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्य पश्चात्कृञनुप्रयुज्यते लिटि परतः, कृञिति प्रत्याहारेण कृभ्वस्तयो गृह्यन्त तत्सामर्थ्यादस्तेर्भूभावो न भवति ॥

40. After a verb which ends with आम्, the verb कृ 'to do' is annexed, when लिट् follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आम् the perfect tense of कृ is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word कृ includes also the verbs भू and अस्. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb अस् when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by भू (III. 4. 52) before the लिट् affixes which are ârdhadhâtuka affixes. Thus पाचयाञ्चकार, पाचयाम्बभूव, पाचयामास.

विदाङ्कुर्वन्त्वित्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु, इति, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदांकुर्वन्त्वित्येतदन्यतरस्याम् निपात्यते ॥

41. The form विदांकुर्वन्तु is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आम् to the root विद 'to know,' when followed by लोट् or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of लोट् are then elided by *luk*; moreover there is no substitution of *guna*

as required by VII. 3. 86; and when we have thus obtained the form विदाम्, we annex to it the लोट् of the verb कृ; thus we have विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु or विदन्तु 'let them know'. The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विदांकुर्वन्तु in the aphorism; on the contrary, the word इति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed; as विदाङ्करोतु विदांकुरुताम् &c.

अभ्युत्सादयांप्रजनयांचिकयांरमयामकः पावयांक्रियाद्विदामक्रन्निति छन्दसि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्युत्सादयाम्-प्रजनयाम्-चिकयाम्-रमयामकः, पावयांक्रियाद्-विदामक्रन्, इति, छंदसि, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्युत्सादयामित्येवमादयः छन्दसि विषयेऽन्यतरस्यां निपात्यन्ते ॥

42. The forms अभ्युत्सादयामकः प्रजनयामकः चिकयामकः रमयामकः पावयांक्रियात् विदामक्रन् are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (लुङ्) of the causatives of the roots सद् 'to sit', जन् 'to be born', and रम् 'to sport': to which the affix आम् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root चि 'to collect', to which आम् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into क of the root. The auxiliary अकः is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root पू 'to blow, to purify', by adding the causative affix णिच्, annexing the affix आम् before the terminations of the Potential (लिङ्) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary क्रियात्. The last is the Aorist of विद् 'to know', to which आम् is added and the auxiliary अक्रन् is employed. These are the archaic forms; their modern forms are as follow :— अभ्युदसीषदत्, प्राजीजनत्, अचैषीत, अरीरमत्, पाव्यात्, अवेदिषुः ।

च्लि लुङि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्लि, लुङि, (धातोः, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः च्लि प्रत्ययो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

43. When लुङ् follows, the affix च्लि is added to the verbal root.

The इ of च्लि is for the sake of articulation, the च is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicatory च has *udâtta* on its final. Then remains only लि, which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact च्लि is the common name for all Aorist affixes.

च्लेः सिच् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्लेः, सिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च्लेः सिजादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्पृशमृशकृषतृपदृपां सिज्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

44. Of च्लि, सिच् is the substitute.

The इ of सिच् is for the sake of pronunciation, the च is for accent, and the real affix is स्; as अकार्षीत् 'he did'. When सिच् is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms.

| | Parasmaipada. | | | Atmanepada. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | sing. | dual | plural | sing. | dual | plural |
| 1st pers. | सं | स्व | स्म | सि | स्वहि | स्महि |
| 2nd pers. | सीः | स्तं, तं | स्त, त | स्थाः, थाः | साथां | ध्वं |
| 3rd pers. | सीत् | स्तां, तां | सुः | स्त, त | सातां | सत |

The substitution of सिच् is optional in the Aorist of the roots स्पृश् 'to touch', मृश् 'to rub', कृष् 'to plough', तृप् 'to become satisfied', and दृप् 'to light'. Thus the Aorist of स्पृश् has three forms; अस्प्राक्षीत्, अस्पार्क्षीत् or अस्पृक्षत्. Similarly मृश् has अम्राक्षीत्, अमार्क्षीत् or अमृक्षत्; कृष्, अक्राक्षीत् अकार्क्षीत् or अकृक्षत्; तृप्, अताप्सीत्, अत्राप्सीत्, or अतृपत्; दृप्, अद्राप्सीत्, अदार्प्सीत् or अदृपत्।

शल इगुपधादनिटः क्सः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शलः, इग्-उपधात्, अनिटः, क्सः, (च्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शलन्तो यो धातुरिगुपधस्तस्मात् परस्य च्लेरनिटः, क्स आदेशो भवति ॥

45. After a verb that ends in a शल consonant, and has an इक् vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take इट् (VII. 2. 10), क्स is the substitute of च्लि.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with क्स are as follow:

| | Parasmaipada. | | | Atmanepada. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | sing. | dual | plural | sing. | dual | plural |
| 1st pers. | सं | साव | साम् | सि | सावहि | सामहि |
| 2nd pers. | सः | सतं | सत | सथाः, थाः | साथाम् | सध्वम्, ध्वम् |
| 3rd pers. | सत् | सतां | सन् | सत, त | सातां | सन्त |

As, मृश् and कृष् in the last sûtra have their Aorist with क्स as अमृक्षत् and अकृक्षत्; so दुह 'to milk' forms अधुक्षत् 'he milked', लिह् 'to lick' अलिक्षत्.

Why do we say 'when ending in श, ष, स and ह'? Observe अभैत्सीत्, अच्छैत्सीत्; here सिच् is employed. Why do we say 'having for its penultimate इ, उ, ऋ or लृ'? Observe अधाक्षीत्. Why do we say 'not having an intermediate इ'? Observe अकोषीत् and अमोषीत्. See VII. 2. 4 and VIII. 2. 28.

श्लिष आलिंगने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लिषः, आलिंगने, (च्लेः, क्सः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लिषेर्धातोरालिङ्गनक्रियावचनात् परस्य च्लेः क्स आदेशो भवति ॥

46. क्स is the substitute of च्लि after the verb श्लिष, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.

This is a restrictive aphorism. As आश्लिक्षत् कन्याम् 'he embraced the girl'. But समाश्लिषज्जतुकाष्ठम् 'the glue joined the wood'.

न दृशः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दृशः, (च्लेः, क्सः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशेर्धातोः परस्य च्लेः क्सादेशो न भवति ॥

47. क्स is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb दृश् 'to see'.

This is an exception to the sûtra III. 1. 45. enjoining क्स. The root दृश् will form its Aorists by III. 1. 57. and will take अङ् and सिच्; as अदर्शत् or अद्राक्षीत् 'he saw'.

णिश्रिद्रुस्रुभ्यः कर्त्तरि चङ् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ णि-श्रि-द्रु-स्रुभ्यः, कर्त्तरि, चङ्, (च्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्रिद्रुस्रुइत्येतेभ्यश्च परस्य च्लेश्चङादेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

48. After a root which ends in णि (III. 1. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb श्रि 'to serve', द्रु 'to run', and स्रु 'to drop', चङ् is the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

The ङ prevents *guna* and *vriddhi* and च is to distinguish it from अङ्. When चङ् is added there is reduplication (VI. 1. 11). The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चङ् is used; as अचीकरत् 'he caused to make'; अशिश्रियत् 'he served or went'; अदुद्रुवत् 'he ran'; असुस्रुवत् 'it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive; as, अकारयिषाताम्.

The root कम् 'to love' should also be included in this rule. कम्, when it takes the affix णिङ् (III. 1. 30) will of course be included in this sûtra, by virtue of its ending in णि; the *Vârtika* makes the additional statement that even when the root कम् does not take the affix णिङ्, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have अचकमत् 'he loved'; when it takes णिङ्, the Aorist will be अचीकमत् (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94.)

विभाषा धेट्श्व्योः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धेट्-श्व्योः, (च्लेः, चङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेट् पाने, टुओश्वि गतिवृद्ध्योः, एताभ्यामुत्तरस्य च्लेर्विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ॥

49. After the roots धे 'to suck', and श्वि 'to grow', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

As, अधयत् 'he sucked'. When it takes the alternative सिच्, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have अधात् and अधासीत् 'he sucked'. So also of श्वि, we have अशिश्वियत् 'he grew'. It also takes the अङ् (III. 1. 58) and then its form is अश्वत् or अश्वयीत्.

गुपेश्छन्दसि ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपेः, छन्दसि, (च्लेः, चङ्, विभाषा, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपेः परस्य च्लेश्छन्दसि विषये विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ॥

50. After the verb गुप् 'to protect', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुप् does not take the affix आय (II. 1. 28). As इमान् नो मित्रावरुणौ यत् गृहान् अजुगुपतम् 'Mitrá Varuṇa protected these our houses'. The other forms are अगोप्तम्, अगोपिष्टम् or अगोपायिष्टम्. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

नोनयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊनयति-ध्वनयति-एलयति-अर्दयतिभ्यः, (च्लेः, चङि, छंदसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊन परिहाणे, ध्वन शब्दे, इल प्रेरणे, अर्द गतौ याचने च, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो ण्यन्तेभ्यः पूर्वेण च्लेश्चङि प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषये न भवति ॥

51. After the causatives of the verbs ऊन 'to decrease', ध्वन 'to sound', इल 'to send', and अर्द 'to go or to beg', चङ् is not the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

Thus we have ऊनयीः in the Vedas ; औनिनत् in the classical literature ; so also ध्वनयीत्, ऐलयीः and अर्दयीत् ; their classical forms being अदिध्वनत्, ऐलिलत्, and आर्दिदत्. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15. and Pânini VII 2. 5.

अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वक्ति-ख्यातिभ्यो, अङ्, (च्लेः, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असु क्षेपणे, वच परिभाषणे, ब्रुआदेशो वा, ख्या प्रकथने, चक्षिङादेशो वा, एभ्यः परस्य च्लेरङादेशो भवति कर्त्रर्थवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

52. After the verbs अस् 'to throw', वच् 'to speak', and ख्या 'to speak', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying the agent.

वच् may be either the root, or the substitute of ब्रू (II. 4. 53) and so also ख्या may be the root, or the substitute of चक्ष् (II. 4. 54). The root अस् belonging to the दिवादि or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the subdivision पुषादि, and therefore it would have taken अङ् in the Parasmaipada

by rule III. 1. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes अङ् in the Atamanepada also; as पर्यास्थत (VII. 4. 17), अवोचत् and आख्यत. In the Passive, we have पर्यासिषाताम्.

लिपिसिचिह्वश्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिपि-सिचि-ह्वः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप उपदेहे, सिच क्षरणे, ह्वेञ् स्पर्द्धायां एतेभ्यश्च परस्य, च्लेरङादेशो भवति ॥

53. After the verbs लिप् 'to paint', सिच् 'to sprinkle' and ह्वे 'to call', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when लुङ् follows signifying the agent.

Thus अलिपत् 'he painted or wrote'; असिचत् 'he sprinkled'; and आह्वत् 'he called or challenged'.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, ( च्लेः, अङ्, लिपि, सिचि, ह्वः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिपिसिचिह्व आत्मनेपदेषु परतः च्लेरङादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

54. After the verbs लिप्, सिच् and ह्वे, अङ is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus अलिपत or अलिप्त 'he painted'; असिचत or असिक्त 'he sprinkled'; आह्वत or अह्वास्त 'he challenged'.

पुषादिद्युताद्यॢदितः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुषादि-द्युतादि-ॡदित-इतः, परस्मैपदेषु, ( च्लेः, अङ् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषादिभ्यो द्युतादिभ्यः ऌदिद्भ्यश्च धातुभ्यः परस्य च्लेः परस्मैपदेषु परतो अङादेशो भवति ॥

55. अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, after the verbs पुष् 'to nourish', and the rest, द्युत् 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory ऌ, when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषादि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs; and द्युतादि verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष्, अपुषत् 'he nourished'; द्युत्, अद्युतत् 'he shone'; गम्ऌ, अगमत् 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada; as व्यद्योतिष्ट, अलोटिष्ट.

सर्त्तिशास्त्यर्त्तिभ्यश्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्त्ति-शास्ति-अर्त्तिभ्यः, च, ( च्लेः, अङ् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृ गतौ, शासु अनुशिष्टौ, ऋ गतौ, इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेरङादेशो भवति ॥

56. After the verbs सृ 'to go', शास् 'to order', and ऋ 'to go', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि in the Parasmaipada as well as in the Atmanepada.

Thus असरत् 'he went'; अशिषत् 'he ordered'; आरत् 'he went'. This sûtra has been separately enunciated in order to make the rule applicable to Atmanepada; as समरन्त (I. 3. 29). The च in the text is for the sake of drawing the anuvritti of the phrase 'in the Parasmaipada' of the last sûtra, into the present and its anuvriti will extend to future sûtras also.

**इरितो वा ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इर्-इतः, वा, ( च्लेः, अङ् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इरितोधातोः परस्य च्लेरङादेशो वा भवति ॥

57. अङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि after that root which has an indicatory इर्, when the Parasmaipada terminations are employed.

Thus from भिदिर् (भिद) 'to divide', we derive अभिदत् or अभैत्सीत्. But we have अभित्त in the Atmanepada. So from छिदिर् — अच्छिदत् or अच्छैत्सीत्.

**जृस्तम्भुम्रुचुम्लुचुग्रुचुग्लुचुग्लुञ्चुश्विभ्यश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जृ-स्तम्भु-म्रुचु-म्लुचु-ग्रुचु-ग्लुचु-ग्लुञ्चु-श्विभ्यः, (च्लेः, अङ्, वा) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जृ स्तम्भु म्रुचु म्लुचु ग्रुचु ग्लुचु ग्लुञ्चु श्वि, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः परस्य च्लेर्वा अङादेशो भवति ॥

58. And, optionally अङ् is the substitute of च्लि after the verbs जॄ 'to grow old', स्तम्भ् 'to stiffen' म्रुच् and म्लुच् 'to go', ग्रुच् and ग्लुच् 'to steal, ग्लुञ्च् 'to go' and श्वि 'to grow', when the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed.

Thus अजरत् or अजारीत् 'he grew old'; अस्तंभत् or अस्तंभीत् 'he stiffened'; अम्रुचत् or अम्रोचीत् 'he went'; अम्लुचत् or अम्लोचीत् 'he went'; अग्रुचत् or अग्रोचीत् 'he stole'; अग्लुचत् or अग्लोचीत् 'he stole'; अग्लुचत् or अग्लुंचीत् 'he went'; अश्वत्, अश्वयीत् or अशिश्वियत् 'he grew'. The roots ग्लुच् and ग्लुंच् both give rise to the same three forms, viz. अग्लुचत्, अग्लुञ्चत् and अग्लोचीत्. The use of one root would, therefore, have served the purpose. The employment of both indicates separateness of their meanings. Others say that the use of both roots indicates that in the case of ग्लुंच्, the nasal is never elided. Thus the Aorist of ग्लुंच will be अग्लुंचत् and अग्लुंचीत्.

**कृमृदृरुहिभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ-मृ-दृ-रुहिभ्यः, छन्दसि ( च्लेः, अङ् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ मृ दृ रुहि इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेः छन्दसि विषये ङादेशो भवति ॥

59. After the verbs कृ 'to do', मृ 'to die', दृ 'to tear', and रुह 'to rise', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकरत् 'he did'; अमरत् 'he died'; अदरत् 'he tore'; आरुहत् 'he rose'. See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकार्षीत्, अमृत, अदारीत् and अरुक्षत्.

**चिण् ते पदः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, ते, पदः, ( च्लेः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पद गतौ अस्माद्धातोः परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो भवति तशब्दे परतः ॥

60. चिण् is the substitute of च्लि after the verb पद् 'to go', when the affix त follows.

The affix त here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as अपादि 'he went'; but not so in the dual and plural; as अपत्साताम् 'they two went'; अपत्सत 'they went'; अट्+पद+चिण्+त=अ+ पाद् + इ=अपादि (the affix त being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

**दीपजनबुधपूरितायिप्यायिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीप-जन-बुध-पूरि-तायि-प्यायिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (च्लेः, चिण्, ते) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दीप जन बुध पूरि तायि प्यायि एतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेस्तशब्दे परतोऽन्यतरस्यां चिणादेशो भवति ॥

61. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs दीप् 'to shine', जन् 'to be produced', बुध् 'to teach or know', पूर् 'to be full', ताय् 'to extend or protect' and प्याय 'to smell'.

Thus अदीपि or अदीपिष्ट 'he shone'; अजनि or अजनिष्ट 'he was produced'; अबोधि or अबुद्ध 'he knew'; अपूरि or अपूरिष्ट 'he was full'; अतायि or अतायिष्ट 'he extended'; अप्यायि or अप्यायिष्ट 'he grew'.

**अचः कर्मकर्त्तरि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्म-कर्त्तरि, (च्लेः, ते, चिण्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताद्धातोः परस्य च्लेः कर्मकर्तरि तशब्दे परतश्चिणादेशो भवति ॥

62. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflective verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflective verbs therefore, चिण् is employed after roots ending in

vowels ; as अकारि कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat became made of itself. This is an optional rule (प्राप्तविभाषा). Therefore we have also अकृत कटः स्वयमेव ; similarly अभाजि or अभङ्क्त केदारः स्वयमेव 'the embankment broke of itself.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, *i. e.* in those which end with a consonant, the चिण् is obligatory in the reflective voice, and not optional ; as अभेदि काष्ठम् स्वयमेव 'the wood split of itself'. So also in verbs other than reflexives ; as अकारि कटो देवदत्तेन.

दुहश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुहः, च, (च्लेः, चिण्, अन्यतरस्याम्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह प्रपूरणे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

63. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि after the verb दुह 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and when त follows.

Thus अदोहि or अदुग्ध गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow milked of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, the चिण् is compulsary, *e. g.* अदोहि गौर्गोपालकेन 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'.

न रुधः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, रुधः, (च्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् आवरणे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेः कर्मकर्त्तरि चिणादेशो न भवति ॥

64. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लि, after the verb रुध् 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense in the third person singular of the Atmanepada.

Thus अन्ववारुद्ध गौ स्वयमेव 'the cow was obstructed of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, चिण् is employed, *e. g.* अन्ववारोधि गौर्गोपालकेन.

तपोऽनुतापे च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, अनुतापे, च, (न, च्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप संतापे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो न भवति कर्मकर्त्तरि अनुतापे च ॥

65. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb तप् 'to suffer', when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices of the verb तप् ; as अतप्त तपस्तापसः 'the ascetic performed austerity' ; अन्वतप्त पापेन कर्मणा 'he repented from evil deeds'.

चिण् भावकर्मणोः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, भाव-कर्मणोः, ( च्लेः, चिण्, ते ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो भवति भावे कर्मणि तशब्दे परतः ॥

66. चिण् is the substitute of च्लि when त of the third person singular Atmanepada follows, denoting the action (भाव) or the object कर्म.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally; and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. As अशायि भवता 'it was lain by you *i. e.* you lay'; अकारि कटो देवदत्तेन 'the mat was made by Devadatta'. The repetition of चिण् here is for the sake of distinctness.

सार्वधातुके यक् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुके, यक्, (भाव-कर्मणोः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकर्मवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोर्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix यक् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this affix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs आस्यते भवता 'you sit', शय्यते भवता 'you lie'. So in passive verbs; as क्रियते कटः and गम्यते ग्रामः. The क of यक् is servile, and prevents guna and vriddhi. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्म्मकर्त्तरि); as क्रियते कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat becomes made of itself'.

कर्त्तरि शप् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, शप्, (सार्वधातुके, धातोः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोः शप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix शप् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, शप् is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called a विकरण comes after roots of the भू class and after compound roots formed by सन् &c. (III. 1. 32). The indicatory श makes it a सार्वधातुक affix by III. 4. 113, the प् indicates that the vowel has *anudâtta* accent (III. 1. 4). As भू+शप्+तिप्=भू+अ+ति=भो+अ+ति=भवति. (VII. 3. 84). So also पचति.

दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिव्-आदिभ्यः, श्यन्, (सार्व-धातुके, कर्त्तरि, ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix श्यन् comes after a root of the Divadi class, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows.

This debars शप्. The servile न of श्यन् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the *udâtta* accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix; and the indicatory श makes the affix sârvad'ıâtuka; as दिव्+श्यन्+

सिव् = षीव्+श्य+ति (VII. 2. 77) = षीव्यति ; so also सीव्यति. The *Divâdi* verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

**वा भ्राशभ्लाशभ्रमुक्रमुक्लमुत्रसित्रुटिलषः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भ्राश-भ्लाश-भ्रमु-क्रमु-क्लमु-त्रसि-त्रुटि-लषः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि, श्यन्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राश भ्लाश भ्रमु क्रमु क्लमु त्रसि त्रुटि लष एतेभ्यो वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; भ्राश् 'to shine', भ्लाश् 'to shine', भ्रम् 'to whirl', क्रम् 'to walk', क्लम् 'to be sad', त्रस् 'to fear', त्रुट् 'to cut', and लष् 'to desire'.

Thus भ्राशते or भ्राश्यते 'he shines'; भ्लाशते or भ्लाश्यते 'he shines'; भ्रमति or भ्राम्यति 'he whirls'; क्रामति or क्राम्यति 'he walks'; क्लामति or क्लाम्यति 'he is sad'. So also त्रस्यति or त्रसति ; त्रुट्यति or त्रुटति ; लष्यति or लषति.

**यसोऽनुपसर्गात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यसः, अनुपसर्गात्, (श्यन्, वा, सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यसोऽनुपसर्गाद्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the verb यस् 'to strive', when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus यास्यति or यसति 'he strives'. But no option is allowed in आयस्यति, प्रयस्यति. The root यस् belongs to the *Divâdi* class.

**संयसश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सं-यसः, च, (श्यन्, वा) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्च यसेर्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the root यस् 'to strive', when it is preceded by the preposition सम्, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus संयस्यति or संयसति 'he strives'.

**स्वादिभ्यः श्नुः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिभ्यः, श्नुः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ षुञ् अभिषवे इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix श्नु comes after the roots of Svâdi class when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent follows.

This debars शप्. As, सु+श्नु+तिप् = सु+नु+ति=सुनोति 'he presses out'. These are roots of the Fifth class.

श्रुवः शृ च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुवः, शृ, च, (श्नुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रुवः श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति तत्संनियोगेन श्रुवः शृ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

74. And शृ is the substitute of श्रु, and there is the affix श्नु after it, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus श्रु+श्नु+तिप् = शृ+नु+ति = शृणोति 'he hears'; शृणुतः 'they two hear'.

अक्षोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (श्नुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्षू व्याप्तौ भौवादिकः अस्मादन्यतरस्यां श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. The affix श्नु is optionally employed after the root अक्ष 'to pervade', when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अक्ष्णोति or अक्षति 'he pervades or obtains'.

तनूकरणे तक्षः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनू-करणे-तक्षः, (अन्यतरस्यां, श्नुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तक्षू त्वक्षू तनुकरणे, अस्मात्तनूकरणे वर्त्तमानादन्यतरस्यां श्नु प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix श्नु is optionally employed after the root तक्ष 'to bore or hew' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus तक्षति or तक्ष्णोति काष्ठं 'he hews the wood'. But संतक्षति वाग्भिः 'he cuts with speech'.

तुदादिभ्यः शः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुद-आदिभ्यः, शः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुद व्यथने, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

77. The affix श is employed after the roots of the Tudâdi class, in denoting the agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory श makes this affix a sârvadhâtuka affix. As तुद+श+ति = तुद+अ+ति = तुदति (I. 2. 4) 'he pains or torments'.

रुधादिभ्यः श्नम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुध-आदिभ्यः, श्नम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् आवरणे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो श्नम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix श्नम् comes after the roots of the Rudhâdi class, in denoting an agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory म् of the affix श्नम् shows that the affix न is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see Sûtra I. 1. 47. As रुध्+श्नम्+ति=रुध्+न+ति=रु+न+ध्+ति=रुणद्धि 'he obstructs'. So also भिनत्ति 'he splits'. The indicatory श is for the sake of sûtra VI. 4. 23.

**तनादिकृञ्भ्य उः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदि-कृञ्भ्यः, उः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तनु विस्तारे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कृञश्च उप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix उ comes after the roots of the Tanâdi class and after the verb कृ 'to make' when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars शप्. As तन्+उ+ति=तनोति 'he expands'; कृ+उ+ति= करोति 'he makes'. Though the root कृ is included in the list of the Tanâdi verbs, for which see Dhâtupâtha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sûtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root कृ is a Tanâdi root only for the purposes of taking the affix उ; all the other operations of Tanâdi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to कृ. Thus अकृत and अकृथाः; the सिच् elision being compulsory and not optional.

**धिन्विकृण्व्योर च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धिन्वि-कृण्व्योः, अ, च, (उः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हिवि धिवि जिवि प्रीणनार्थाः कृवि हिंसाकरणयोः इत्येतयोर्धात्वोरुप्रत्ययो भवत्यकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

80. The affix उ comes after the roots धिन्व 'to please', and कृण्व 'to hurt', when a sarvâdhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs अ is the substitute of the final इ.

The root धिन्व or धिन्वि belongs to the Bhuâdi class. Thus धिन्व + उ+ति = धिन्+अ+ उ +ति = धिन् + उ + ति (VI. 4. 48) = धिनोति 'he pleases'. It might be asked, why there is no *guna* of the इ of धिन् by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be *gunated* before a sârvadhâtuka or an ârdhadhâtuka affix. The answer is to be found in sûtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of अ which is a blank, is like the former occupant (*sthânivat*), and thus prevents guṇa.

**क्र्यादिभ्यः श्ना ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री-आदिभ्यः, श्ना ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ डुक्रीञ् द्रव्यविनिमये इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix श्ना comes after the roots of the Kryâdi class when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows denoting the agent.

This debars शप्. As क्री + श्ना + तिप् = क्रीणाति 'he buys'. So also प्रीणाति 'he pleases'.

स्तम्भुस्तुम्भुस्कम्भुस्कुम्भुस्कुञ्भ्यः श्नुश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्भु-स्तुम्भु-स्कम्भु-स्कुम्भु-स्कुञ्भ्यः, श्नुः, च, (श्ना) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु स्तुम्भु स्कम्भु स्कुम्भु स्कुञ् एतेभ्यः श्नाप्रत्ययो भवति श्नुश्च ॥

82 And there is the affix श्ना after स्तम्भ, स्तुम्भ, स्कम्भ or स्कुम्भ 'to hinder', 'to be dull or insensible', 'to support', and स्कु 'to go by leaps', as well as the affix श्नु, when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows, in denoting the agent.

As स्तभ्नाति or स्तभ्नोति, स्तुभ्नाति or स्तुभ्नोति, स्कभ्नाति or स्कभ्नोति, स्कुभ्नाति or स्कुभ्नोति, स्कुनाति or स्कुनोति. The first four of these roots are not found in the Dhâtupâtha and are to be found in the sûtras, and hence called Saûtra roots.

हलः श्नः शानज्झौ ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, श्नः, शानच्-हौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य श्नाप्रत्ययस्य शानजादेशो भवति हौ परतः ॥

83. The affix शानच् is the substitute of श्ना after a root ending with a consonant, when हि follows.

The affix हि is the 2nd person singular of लोट् or the Imperative mood. Thus पुषाण 'do thou nourish', गृहाण do thou take', from roots पुष् and ग्रह which end with consonants. But we have क्रीणीहि 'do thou buy'; here there is no substitution of शानच्, because the root ends with a vowel. The repetition of श्ना in the sûtra shows that शानच् is a mere substitute and not an independent affix.

छन्दसि शायजपि ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि , शायच्, अपि, ( हलः, श्नः, शानच्, हौ ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये श्नः शायजादेशो भवति शानजपि ॥

84. In the Chhandas, शायच् is also the substitute of श्ना after roots ending in consonants, when हि follows.

Thus गृभाय जिह्वया मधु, (Rig Veda VIII. 17. 5.) The affix शानच् is also employed ; as बधान पशून् 'kill the beasts'.

व्यत्ययो बहुलम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यत्ययः, बहुलम्, (छन्दसि, शबादयः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथायथं विकरणाः शबादयो विहितास्तेषां छन्दसि विषये बहुलं व्यत्ययो भवति ॥

85. In the Chhandas there is diversely an interchange of the various vikaranas शप and the rest

which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word व्यत्यय means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange, taking of two vikaraṇas at a time, and so on. Thus भेदति = भिद् + शप् + ति) instead of भिनत्ति from the root भिद् 'to split', belonging to the Rudhâdi class; *e. g.* शुष्मस्य आण्डानि भेदति (Rig. VIII. 40. 11.) 'He (Indra) break the eggs (children) of Shushma; so also, जरसा मरते पतिः (Rig. X. 86. 11); here there is मरते=(मृ+शप्+ते) instead of म्रियते; the root मृ belonging to the Tudâdi class. So also there are two vikaraṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रो वस्ते न नेषतु 'May Indra lead by this abode'; here there is नेषतु 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative लोट् of the root नी 'to lead'; there are two vikaraṇas सिप् and शप् instead of नयतु =(नी+शप्+तु); इन्द्रेण युजा तरुषेम वृत्रम् (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तरुषेम (तृ+उ+सिप्+शप्+अम) is the 1st. per. sing. of the Optative (लिङ्) of the root तृ, the classical form being तरेम or तीर्यास्म 'may we cross'.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to कृत् and तद्धित affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyâhâra यङ् (III. 1. 22 to III. 1. 86).

**लिङ्याशिष्यङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङि, आशिषि, अङ्, (छन्दसि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् तस्मिन्परतश्छन्दसि विषयेऽङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृशेरग्वक्तव्यः ॥

86. The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (आशीर्लिङ्) follow.

This debars शप्. The affixes of the Benedictive are ârdhadhâtuka by III. 4. 116; but in the Vedas they are sârvadhâtuka as well; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs स्था, गा, गम्, वच्, वद्, शक् and रुह; as उपस्थेयम्; सत्यमुपगेयम्; गमेम जानतो गृहान्, मन्त्र वोचेमाग्नये; विदेयमेनां मनसि प्रविष्टां; व्रतम् चरिष्यामि तच्छकेयम्; स्वर्गं लोकमारुहेयम्.

The affix अक् is employed in the Chhandas after the verb दृश् in the Benedictive. Had there been अङ्, it would have caused *guṇa* by rule VII. 4. 16.; to prevent this, अक् is ordained; as पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च 'May I see the father and the mother'.

**कर्मवत्कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मवत्, कर्मणा, तुल्य-क्रियः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि क्रिया कर्म, कर्मस्थया क्रियया तुल्यक्रियः कर्ता कर्मवद्भवति ॥

87. The ल denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a ल denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or ल, denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or ल denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of यक् (III. 1. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of चिण् for च्लि (III. 1. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sûtra VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus भिद्यते काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself'; अभेदि काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself'.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When in an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object; and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word वत् 'like' in the sûtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus भिद्यते कुसूलेन.

The word कर्मणा 'with the object' in the sûtra indicates that the *tulya-kriya* or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus साध्वसिश्छिनत्ति 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also साधु स्थाली पचति 'the pot cooks well'; here स्थाली is a location.

This '*karma-vad-bhâva*, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

तपस्तपः कर्मकस्यैव ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, तपः, कर्मकस्य, एव, (कर्मवत्, कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सन्तापे, अस्य कर्ता कर्मवद्भवति, स च तपः कर्मकस्यैव नान्य कर्मकस्य ॥

88. The agent of the verb तप् 'to heat,' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word तपस् itself.

Thus तप्यते तपस्तापसः 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.

न दुहस्नुनमां यक्चिणौ ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दुह-स्नु-नमां, यक्-चिणौ, (कर्मकर्तरि, कर्मवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह स्नु नम् इत्येतेषां कर्मकर्त्तरि यक्चिणौ कर्मवद्भावापदिष्टौ न भवतः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधे णिश्रन्थिग्रन्थिब्रूञात्मनेपदाकर्मकाणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. The affix यक् (III. 1. 67) and चिण् (III. 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs दुह् 'to milk', स्नु 'to fall in drops' and नम् 'to bow'.

The affixes यक् and चिण् are used in forming the reflexive verbs, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object. With regard to the root दुह्, the affix यक् is only prohibited by the present sûtra; the चिण् being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as दुग्धे, अदुग्ध or अदोहि गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself' प्रस्नुते or प्रास्नोष्ट गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself'; नमते or अनंस्त दण्डः स्वयमेव 'the stick bends or bent of itself'.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes यक् and चिण् is extended to the verbs that take the affix णि (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs श्रन्थ 'to loosen', ग्रन्थ 'to compose' and ब्रू 'to speak', and to the Atmanepadi Intransitive verbs. As कारयते 'it is caused to be made of itself; अचीकरत 'it was caused to be made of itself; श्रन्थीते 'it loosens of itself'; अश्रन्थिष्ट 'it loosened of itself'; ग्रन्थीते; अग्रन्थिष्ट 'it composes or composed of itself'; ब्रूते and अवोचत 'it speaks and spoke of itself'; आहते and आवधिष्ट माणवकः स्वयमेव.

कुषिरञ्जोः प्राचां श्यन्परस्मैपदं च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुषि-रञ्जोः, प्राचाम्, श्यन्, परस्मैपदं, च, ( कर्मकर्त्तरि ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुष निष्कर्षे, रञ्ज रागे, अनयोर्धात्वोः कर्मकर्त्तरि प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति परस्मैपदं च ॥

90. The affix श्यन् comes after the roots कुष् 'to pull', and रञ्ज 'to colour', in the reflexive voice, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, and these verbs take the affixes of the Parasmaipada.

This debars the affix यक् and the Atmanepada terminations. As कुष्यति पादः स्वयमेव 'the foot draws up of itself'; रज्यति वस्त्रं स्वयमेव 'the cloth colours of itself'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern' shows that it is an optional rule; so that we have also the forms कुष्यते and रज्यते.

धातोः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरित्ययमधिकारो वेदितव्यः, आ तृतीयाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो धातोरित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

91. As far as the end of the Third Book

reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root.

This is an Adhikâra Sûtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts कृत् and कृत्य affixes, which will be described later on.

तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, उपपदं, सप्तमीस्थम्, ( धातोः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रैतस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तृतीये यत्सप्तमी निर्दिष्टं तदुपपदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependant word.

Thus in sûtra III. 2. कर्मण्यण् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. Thus कुम्भम्+कृ+अण्=कुम्भकारः 'a potter'; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.

कृदतिङ् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्, अ-तिङ्, ( धातोः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तिङ्वर्जितः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञको भवति ॥

93. In this portion of the Sûtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत्.

Thus the affixes तव्यत् &c. are कृत्. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prâtipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (I. 2. 46). Thus कृ + तव्यं = कर्तव्यं. Why do we say 'except तिङ् affixes'? Observe चीयात् 'may he collect', स्तुयात् 'may he praise' which form verbs and not nouns.

वाऽसरूपोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४॥ पदानि॥ वा, असरूपः, अस्त्रियाम्, ( धातोः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे ऽसमानरूपः प्रत्ययो ऽपवादो वा बाधको भवति स्त्र्यधिकारविहितप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

94. In this portion of the Sûtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same

form, optionally debars it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes ण्वुल् and तृच् (III. 1. 133) are general affixes applicable to all roots in forming nouns of agency; and the sûtra III. 1. 133 which ordains these affixes, is an *utsarga* or a general rule; while the sûtra III. 1. 135 ordaining the affix क after verbs having a penultimate इक् vowel, and the roots ज्ञा, प्री and कॄ is an apavâda or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, optionally we may have the affixes ण्वुल् and तृच् also. Thus क्षिप् is a root that has a penultimate इ belonging to the pratyâhâra इक्; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix क will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus विक्षिप्+क = विक्षिप्+अ = विक्षिप: ; but this special rule however does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally विक्षिप्+ण्वुल् = विक्षेपक: ; and विक्षिप् +तृ = विक्षेप्तृ nom. sing. विक्षेप्ता.

Why do we say 'not being of the same form'? Because if two affixes have the same form, the present rule will not apply; and in the case of such affixes, the special affix will debar the general affix. Thus the affixes अण् and क are, when stripped of their indicatory letters, affixes having the same form *i. e.* अ; and therefore the sûtra III. 2. 1. ordaining अण् as a general rule, will be always debarred by sûtra III. 2. 3 ordaining क, as the latter is a special sûtra applicable only to those roots which end in long आ, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus गो+दा+क = गोद: 'giver of cows'. So also कम्बलद: 'blanket-giver'. In these cases we cannot have the affix अण्.

It follows from this sûtra as a necessary corollary, that the addition of indicatory letters does not make two or more affixes dissimilar in form (असरूप) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes क, अण्, अच्, ण &c. are similar.

Why do we say 'but not so in the case of feminine affixes'? Because in the case of feminine affixes, a special affix will debar a general affix, though they may be dissimilar in form. Thus sûtra III. 3. 94 ordaining क्तिन् in forming feminine nouns from roots is a general or *utsarga* rule, while sûtra III. 3. 102 ordaining अ after roots that have already taken some affix is a special or *apavâda* rule, and though अ and ति are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots चिकीर्ष and जिहीर्ष will form feminine nouns in आ and not by क्तिन्. Thus चिकीर्षा and जिहीर्षा and not चिकीर्षति &c.

कृत्याः प्राङ्ण्वुलः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, प्राक्, ण्वुलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्वुल्तृचाविति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्माण्ण्वुल्संशब्दनाद्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः कृत्यसंज्ञकास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism ण्वुल्तृचौ (III. 1. 133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of Kṛitya.

This defines the class of affixes known as *kritya*, a subdivision of *krit* affixes. These are certain affixes like तव्य, अनीय &c, which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4. 70). The following 38 sûtras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in *udus* conveyng the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word *kritya* occurs in sûtras II. 1. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

**तव्यत्तव्यानीयरः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव्यत्-तव्य-अनीयरः, ( धातोः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोस्तव्यत्तव्यानीयर् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वसेस्तव्यत् कर्त्तरि णिच्च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ केलिमर उपसंख्यानम् ॥

96. The affixes तव्यत्, तव्य and अनीयर् come after verbal roots.

The phrase 'after verbal roots' is understood in this aphorism by anuvṛitti from sûtra 91. The final letters त् of तव्यत् and र् of अनीयर् are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter त् indicating svarita accent (VI. 1. 185) and the letter र indicating penultimate udâtta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sûtra 3 *ante* of this chapter.

Thus कृ + तव्यत् = कर्तव्यम्, and कृ + तव्य = कर्तव्यम् 'must be done'; कृ + अनीयर् = करणीयम् 'must be done'. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

*Vart*:—The affix तव्यत् when coming after the verb वस् 'to dwell' in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicatory ण्. The force of ण् is to cause vriddhi. Thus वस् + तव्यत् = वास्तव्यः 'a dweller'. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4. 70).

*Vart*:—The affix केलिमर् should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पचेलिमा माषाः 'kidney beans fit to be

cooked'; भिदेलिमानि काष्ठानि 'the woods are apt to be split *i. e.* fragile'. This affix is to be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (*i. e.* in the passive and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated above, to denote also the action.

अचो यत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, यत्, ( धातोः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताद्धातोर्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तकिशसिचतियतिजनीनामुपसंख्यानम् हनो वा वध च ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after a root that ends in a vowel.

The letter त् of this affix is indicatory showing that the udâtta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus गा+यत्=गेय, noun sing. गेयम् 'what is to be sung'; so also पेयम् 'what is to be drunk'; जेयम् 'what is to be conquered'. The आ of गा and पा is changed into ए by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'that ends in a vowel'? By sûtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes ण्यत् affix instead of यत्; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix यत् comes after roots which *primarily* end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from दो 'to cut', we have the desiderative root दित्स, which ends in a vowel अ. This अ is elided before ârdhadhâtuka affixes and thus the root becomes दित्स्, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix यत् and not ण्यत्. Thus दित्स्यम् 'what is wished to be cut'; धित्स्यम् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly लू before ârdhadhâtuka affixes becomes लो, the ओ is changed into अव् before य (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is लव्. The root लव् however takes यत् and not ण्यत्; as लव्यो, पव्यम्, &c.

*Vart*:—The verbs तक् 'to fly', शस् 'to leap', चत् 'to ask', यत् 'to attempt' and जन् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take यत् and not ण्यत्; as तक्यम्, शस्यम्, चत्यम्, यत्यम्, and जन्यम्.

*Vart*:—And of the verb हन् 'to kill' वध is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix यत्. Thus we have वध्यम् or घात्यम्. The latter form is evolved by sûtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix यत् comes only after the वध substitute; after हन् the affix ण्यत् comes which changes the ह into घ, and न into त and causes vriddhi.

पोरदुपधात् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोः, अत्-उपधात्, (धातोः यत्,)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवर्गान्ताद्धातोरकारोपधाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short अ.

This debars ण्यत्; thus शप्+यत् = शप्यं 'to be sworn'; लभ्+यत् = लभ्यम् 'to be acquired'.

Why do we say 'which ends in a labial'? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short अ, the root will take ण्यत्; thus पच्+ण्यत् = पाक्यम् 'what is to be cooked'; वाक्यम् 'speech'.

Why do we say 'when preceded by a short अ'? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take ण्यत्; thus कुप्+ण्यत् = कोप्यम् 'to be angry'; so also गोप्यम् 'to be concealed'.

The word अत् is used in the sûtra in the original. The force of त् here is, by I. 1. 70, that short अ having one mâtrâ or prosodial length is to be taken and not long आ. Therefore, after the root आप् 'to obtain', we have ण्यत् and not यत्; thus आप्यम् 'to be reached' *i. e.* 'attainable'.

शकिसहोश्च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि-सहोः, च, (धातोः, यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्लृ शक्तौ, सह मर्षणे, अनयोर्धात्वोर्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix यत् comes after the roots शक् 'to be able', and सह 'to bear'.

Thus शक्यम् 'possible'; सह्यम् 'endurable'.

गदमदचरयमश्चानुपसर्गे ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ गद्-मद्-चर-यमः, च, अनुपसर्गे, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गद मद चर यमः, एतेभ्यश्चानुपसर्गेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चरेराङि चागुरौ ॥

100. The affix यत् comes after the roots गद् 'to speak', मद 'to be mad', चर 'to go, to eat', and यम to restrain', when these roots do not take any proposition.

Thus गद्यम् 'what is to be spoken, *i. e* prose'; मद्यम् 'wine'; चर्यम् 'what is to be followed; यम्यम् 'what is to be restrained'.

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a preposition'? When compounded with an upasarga, these roots will take ण्यत्; thus प्रगाद्यम्; प्रमाद्यम् &c.

The root यम् would have taken the affix यत् by sûtra 98 also, as it ends in म and is preceded by अ; its separate enumeration in this sûtra is in order to show, that the compound verb यम् will not take the affix यत्. Therefore with regard to यम्, this is a *niyama* or restrictive rule and not a *vidhi* or original rule.

*Vart*:—The root चर when preceded by the preposition आङ् takes the यत् affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus आचर्यो देशः 'an approachable or communicable country'. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes ण्यत्; thus आचार्यः 'a preceptor'.

अवद्यपण्यवर्या गर्ह्यपणितव्यानिरोधेषु ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवद्य-पण्य-वर्याः, गर्ह्य-पणितव्य-अनिरोधेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवद्य पण्य वर्या इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते गर्ह्य पणितव्य अनिरोध इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यम् ॥

101. The words अवद्य, पण्य and वर्या are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, अवद्यं पापं 'censurable sin'. Another and regular form is अनुद्यम्. This is formed by adding the affix क्यप् to the root वद् by III. 1. 106. So also पण्यः कम्बलः 'saleable blanket'; पण्या: गौः 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is पाण्यम्, formed by the addition of ण्यत्. So also शतेन वर्या 'unobstructed by hundred'; सहस्रेण वर्या 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is वृत्या from the root वृ 'to choose'. वर्या means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वर्या in the sûtra is in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus वार्या ऋत्विजः.

वह्यं करणम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह्यं, करणम्, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वहेर्धातोः करणे यत्प्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

102. The word वह्यं is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word वह्य is derived from root वह 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', *i. e.*, that by which a thing is carried; as वह्यं शकटम्. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix ण्यत्; thus वाह्यः 'an ox'.

अर्यः स्वामिवैश्ययोः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्यः, स्वामि-वैश्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋ गतौ, अस्माण्ण्यति प्राप्ते, स्वामिवैश्ययोरभिधेययोर्यत्प्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यतो ऽनाव इत्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते, स्वामिन्यन्तोदात्तत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

103. The word अर्य is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaiśya'.

The root ऋ 'to go', would have taken ण्यत् by sûtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes यत् when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaisya' caste. As अर्यः स्वामी, 'honored lord', अर्यो वैश्यः 'honored Vaisya'.

*Vart*: Though by VI. 1. 213, the affix यत् makes the udâtta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अर्य, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaisya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix ण्यत्; as आर्यो ब्राह्मणः 'the respectable Brâhmana'.

उपसर्या काल्या प्रजने ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्या, काल्या, प्रजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्येति निपात्यते काल्या चेत्प्रजने भवति ॥

104. The word उपसर्या is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसर्या is formed by adding यत् affix to the root सृ 'to move', compounded with the preposition उप. The word काल्या means having reached the time. The word प्रजन means the first conception. Thus उपसर्या गौः 'the cow fit for the bull'; उपसर्या वडवा 'the mare fit for the horse'.

Why do we say 'when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception'? Otherwise the affix ण्यत् will be used; as उपसार्या शरदि मथुरा 'Madhura is approachable in Sarat season'.

अजर्यम् संगतम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजर्यम्, संगतम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजर्यमिति निपात्यते संगतं चेद्भवति ॥

105. The word अजर्यम् 'imperishable' is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतम् 'friendship' expressed or understood.

The word अजर्यम् is formed from the root जृ by the addition of यत्, and affixing the negative particle अ; as अ+जृ+यत् = अजर्यं.

Thus अजर्यं नोऽस्तु संगतम् 'let our friendship be imperishable'. So also अजर्यमार्यसंगतम्.

Why do we say 'when qualifying the word संगतम्'? Observe अजरिता कम्बलः 'undecaying blanket'.

वदः सुपि क्यप् च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वदः, सुपि, क्यप्, च, (यत्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च ॥

106. After the root वद् 'to speak', governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix क्यप् also.

The phrase 'not having a preposition' is to be read into this sûtra by *anuvritti* from sûtra 100 *ante*. The force of the word 'also' is to indicate that the affix यत् is also employed. The word सुपि means 'in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix'.

Thus ब्रह्म+वद्+क्यप् = ब्रह्म+वद्+य = ब्रह्मोद्यम्; ब्रह्म+वद्+यत् = ब्रह्मवद्यम् 'told by the Vedas or Brahman'. Similarly सत्योद्यम् or सत्यवद्यम् 'truth-mouthed'.

Why do we say 'when it has a case-inflected word as upapada'? Otherwise वद् + ण्यत् = वाद्यम् a 'musical instrument'.

Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe प्रवाच्यम् 'a rumour' formed by the affix ण्यत् and not by यत् or क्यप्.

भुवो भावे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, भावे, (अनुपसर्गे, सुपि, क्यप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः सुबन्तउपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. After the root भू 'to be', in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix क्यप् is employed to denote condition (bhâva).

The words सुपि and अनुपसर्गे of previous sûtras are understood in this. The *anuvritti* of यत् does not cover this aphorism. As ब्रह्मभूयं गतः = ब्रह्मत्वं गतः 'gone to or arrived at Brahmahood; देवभूयं = देवत्वं गतः 'gone to divinity'.

The word *bhâva* of this sutra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take यत्; as भू+यत् = भो+यत् = भव्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

Why do we say 'not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रभव्यम्.

हनस्त च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, त, च, (सुपि, अनुपसर्गे, क्यप्, भावे ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति तकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

108. After the root हन् 'to kill', when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix क्यप् in denoting condition, and the letter त is the substitute of its final.

The phrases सुपि अनुपसर्गे and भावे are understood in this sûtra.

As ब्रह्म+हन्+क्यप् = ब्रह्म+हत्+य = ब्रह्महत्य, (VI. 1. 71) ब्रह्महत्या 'Brahman-murder'. So also अश्वहत्या 'killing a horse'.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is घातः 'a blow' (हन्+णिच्+घञ्). This verb does not take the affix ण्यत् in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रघातो वर्तते 'there is a combat'.

एतिस्तुशास्वृदृजुषः क्यप् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति-स्तु-शास्-वृ-दृ-जुषः, क्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एति स्तु शास् वृ दृ जुषः इत्येतेभ्यः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शंसिदुहि गुहिभ्यो वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आङ् पूर्वादञ्जेः संज्ञायामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

109. After the verbs इ 'to go', स्तु 'to praise', शास् 'to govern', वृ 'to choose', दृ 'to respect' and जुष् 'to please', comes the affix क्यप्.

The anuvritti of सुपि, अनुपसर्गे and भावे does not extend to this aphorism. The present sûtra ordains generally the affix क्यप् after the above verbs. Thus इ+क्यप्=इ+त+य (VI. 1. 71) = इत्यः 'to be gone'. The letter त being added by Rule VI. 1. 71 which declares 'त is the augment of a short vowel when a कृत् affix, with an indicatory प् follows'. So also स्तु+क्यप् = स्तुत्यः 'to be praised'; शास्+क्यप् = शिस्+य (आ being changed into इ by VI. 4. 34) = शिष्यः 'to be instructed *i. e.* a pupil'. So also वृ+क्यप् = वृत्यः 'to be chosen'; आदृ+क्यप् = आदृत्यः 'to be honoured'; जुष्+क्यप् = जुष्यः 'to be served'.

Though the anuvritti of क्यप् was coming from the previous sûtra 100, its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules such as 125 of this chapter should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires ण्यत् 'after the verb स्तु, but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have अवश्य स्तुत्यः 'must be praised'.

By वृ in the sûtra the root वृञ् is intended to be taken, and not the root वृङ्. The equivalent derivative of the latter is वार्यः as वार्या ऋत्विजः.

*Vart:*—The roots शास् 'to praise' दुह् 'to milk' and गुह् 'to cover' optionally take the affix क्यप्. As शास्यम् or शंस्यम् (VI. 4. 37); दुह्यम् or दोह्यम्, गुह्यम् or गोह्यम्.

*Vart:*—The verb अंज् 'to anoint', preceded by the preposition आङ् takes the affix क्यप् when used as an appellative. As आ+अंज्+क्यप् = आज्यम् meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

*Obj.*—How do you explain the form उपेयम् which is evidently formed from the root इ by adding यत्? According to the present sûtra, the affix क्यप् ought to have been added. Ans. The इ in उपेयम् is a different root from that taken here. The root in this sûtra is इण् of the Adâdi class.

ऋदुपधाच्चाक्लृपिचृतेः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-उपधात्, च, अक्लृपि-चृतेः, ( क्यप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारोपधाच्च धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति क्लृपिचृती वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पाणौ सृजेर्ण्यद्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समवपूर्वाच्च ॥

110. After verbs having a penultimate short ऋ, the affix क्यप् is employed, with the exception of the verbs क्लृप् 'to be able', and चृत 'to hurt'.

Thus वृत्+क्यप् = वृत्यम्; so also वृध्यम्. But क्लृप् and चृत् will form कल्प्यम्, and चर्त्यम्.

Why have we used the letter त् in ऋत्? It is to indicate that short ऋ

is meant and not long ऋ (I. 1. 70). Therefore the root कॄत् will take ण्यत् and form कीर्त्यम्.

*Vart* :—The root सृज् takes the affix ण्यत् when compounded with the word पाणि. Thus पाणिसर्ग्या रज्जुः 'a rope'.

*Vart* :—The root सृज् when preceded by both सम् and अव takes ण्यत् as समवसर्ग्या.

**ई च खनः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, खनः, ( क्यप् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ खनेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवतीकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

111. The affix क्यप् is employed after the root खन 'to dig', and long ई is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus खन्+क्यप् = ख+ई+य = खेयम् 'to be dug'. The long ई is used in the sûtra for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short इ, thus 'इ च खनः'. But the long ई indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the अ of खन् would have been lengthened into आ before the affix क्यप्.

**भृञोऽसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृञः, अ-संज्ञायाम्, (क्यप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भृञो धातोरसंज्ञायां विषये क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संपूर्वाद्विभाषा ॥

112. The affix क्यप् is employed after the verb भृञ् 'to bear' when not used as a name.

Thus भृ+क्यप् = भृत्य Pl. भृत्याः 'those who ought to be supported' *i. e.* 'servants'. Why do we say 'when not used as an appellative'? Observe भृ+ण्यत् = भार्याः 'a Kshatriya'.

*Vart* :—The use of *kyap* is optional when this verb takes the preposition सम्. Thus संभृत्याः or संभार्याः.

**मृजेर्विभाषा ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, विभाषा, ( क्यप् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ मृजेर्धातोर्विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

113. The affix क्यप् optionally comes after the root मृज् 'to cleanse'.

This is an example of *Prâpta-vibhâshâ*. By rule 110 *ante*, the root मृज् having a penultimate ऋ would have necessarily taken *kyap*; this sûtra declares an option. As परिमृज्यः or परिमार्ग्यः 'to be cleansed'. The second form is thus evolved :—

परिमृज्+ण्यत् (III. 1. 124) = परिमृग्+य (VII. 3. 52) = परिमार्ग्य (VII. 2. 114)

**राजसूयसूर्यमृषोद्यरुच्यकुप्यकृष्टपच्याव्यथ्याः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजसूय-सूर्य-मृषोद्य-रुच्य-कुप्य-कृष्ट-पच्य-अव्यथ्याः, ( क्यप् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ राजसूय सूर्य मृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य अव्यथ्य इत्येते शब्दाः क्यपि निपात्यन्ते ॥

114. The words राजसूय सूर्य मृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कृष्ट पच्य and अव्यथ्य are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix क्यप्.

Thus राज्ञा सोतव्यः or राज्ञा इह सूयते, राज+सू+क्यप् = राजसूयः 'the Rajasûya or coronation sacrifice.

Similarly सृ or सू+क्यप् = सूर्यः 'the sun', literally that which moves (सरति) in the sky ; or that which impels (सुवति) creation to action. मृष+वद+क्यप् = मृषोद्यम् 'false speech'; this is an exception to rule 106, by which यत् would also have been applied This rule prevents it. Thus रोचते ऽसौ, रुच्+क्यप् = रुच्यः 'an agreeable lover'. So also गुप्+क्यप् = कुप्यम् 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)'; the other form is गोप्यम्। कृष्ट+पच् = कृष्टपच्याः 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. न व्यथते = अव्यथ्यः 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

**भिद्योद्ध्यौ नदे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिद्य-उद्ध्यौ, नदे, ( क्यप् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भिदेरुज्झेश्च क्यब् निपात्यते नदेऽभिधेये ॥

115. The words भिद्य and उद्ध्य are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप्, when meaning a 'river'.

Thus भिद्+क्यप् = भिद्यः 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhidya river.

उज्झ्+क्यप् = उद्ध्य 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhya river ; the झ is changed into ध.

When not meaning or qualifying the river, the regular forms are used ; thus भेत्ता and उज्झिता.

**पुष्यसिद्ध्यौ नक्षत्रे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुष्य-सिद्ध्यौ, नक्षत्रे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषेः सिधेश्चाधिकरणे क्यब् निपात्यते नक्षत्रेऽभिधेये ॥

116. The words पुष्य and सिद्ध्य are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप्, when used as names of asterisms.

Thus पुष्+क्यप् = पुष्यः 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. सिध्+क्यप् = सिद्ध्यः 'the asterism Siddhya' another name of Pushya, so-called because things are accomplished under the influence of this star.

When not the names of asterisms, the forms are पोषणं 'nourishing', सेधनम् 'accomplishing'.

विपूयविनीयजित्या मुञ्जकल्कहलिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपूय-विनीय-जित्याः, मुञ्ज-कल्क-हलिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूय विनीय जित्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं मुञ्जकल्कहलि इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु बोध्येषु ॥

117. The words विपूय, विनीय and जित्य are irregularly formed when they mean, the 'muñja grass', the 'sediment' and the 'plough' respectively.

Thus वि+पू+क्यप् = विपूयः etymologically 'that which has *to be purified* to make rope'; वि+नी+क्यप् = विनीय 'a sediment or sin'; जि+क्यप् = जित्य 'a plough that which is *to be conquered* by strength'.

The regular derivatives are विपाव्यम्, विनेयम् and जेयम्.

प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेश्छन्दसि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-अपिभ्यां, ग्रहेः, छन्दसि, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति अपि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ग्रहेः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

118. The verb ग्रह 'to seize', preceded by the prepositions प्रति and अपि, takes the affix क्यप् in the Vedic literature.

Thus मत्तस्य न प्रतिगृह्यम् ; तस्मान्नापिगृह्यम् ॥

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रतिग्राह्यम् and अपिग्राह्यम्.

पदास्वैरिबाह्यापक्ष्येषु च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-अस्वैरि-बाह्या-पक्ष्येषु, च, (ग्रहेः, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदेऽस्वैरिणि बाह्यायां पक्ष्ये चार्थे ग्रहेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The root ग्रह takes the affix क्यप्, when it means a 'word', a 'dependent', 'outside', or a 'partisan'.

Thus प्रगृह्यम् 'the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already defined in sûtra I. 1. 11. So also अवगृह्यं.

The word अस्वैरि means dependent upon others, not free to provide for himself. Thus गृह्यकाः शुकाः 'the captive parrots'.

The word बाह्य means 'situated outside'. Thus ग्रामगृह्या सेना 'an army lying outside the village'. The word बाह्या being in the feminine gender indicates that the derivative word formed from ग्रह must also be feminine in gender to have this sense.

The word पक्ष्य is derived from पक्ष 'a side, a party', and means a partisan, follower or friend. Thus वासुदेवगृह्याः 'siding with or being the partisans of Vâsudeva'. So also अर्जुनगृह्याः 'belonging to the party of Arjun'.

विभाषा कृवृषोः ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृ-वृषोः, (क्यप्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृञो वृषश्च विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. After the verbs कृञ् 'to do', and वृष् 'to rain' the affix क्यप् is optionally employed.

The root कृ would have taken the affix ण्यत् by 124, and the verb वृष् would necessarily have taken क्यप् by 110; the present sûtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus: कृ+क्यप् = कृत्यम् 'to be done'; or कृ+ण्यत् = कार्यम्. So also वृष्यम् or वर्ष्यम् 'stimulating'.

युग्यं च पत्रे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युग्यम्, च, पत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युग्यमिति निपात्यते पत्रं चेद्भवति ॥

121. The word युग्यम् is irregularly formed meaning a vehicle.

The word पत्र means that by which a thing is carried. Thus युग्यो गौ 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. युग्यो हस्ती 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. युज्+क्यप् = युग्यम्. The ज is changed into ग. When not meaning a carrier or a carriage, it has the form योग्यं.

अमावस्यदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावस्यद्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमाशब्दः सहार्थे वर्त्तते, तस्मिन्नुपपदे वसेर्धातोः कालेऽधिकरणे ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तथान्यतरस्यां वृद्ध्यभावो निपात्यते ॥

122. Optionally the word अमावस्या is irregularly formed.

The word अमा means 'along' or 'together'. अमा in composition with the root वस् 'to dwell', takes the affix ण्यत् in the sense of location of time. Optionally the *Vriddhi* is not substituted in such a case. The time or the day on which the sun and the moon dwell together in the same constellation is called अमावास्या or अमावस्या.

The final त in अमावस्यत् is indicatory and is for the sake of showing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms अमावस्या or अमावास्या are the same word, and *a fortiori* a rule made with regard to one will be made applicable to the other. And to this effect there is a paribhâshâ which declares एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वम्; 'that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place'. Therefore sûtra IV. 3. 30, though it, in terms, says अमावास्याया वा is made applicable to the form अमावस्या also.

छन्दसि निष्टर्क्यदेवहूयप्रणीयोन्नीयोच्छिष्यमर्यस्तर्याध्वर्यखन्यखान्यदेवयज्यापृच्छ्यप्रतिषीव्यब्रह्मवाद्यभाव्यस्ताव्योपचाय्यपृडानि ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, निष्टर्क्य-देवहूय-प्रणीय-उन्नीय-उच्छिष्य-मर्य-स्तर्या-ध्वर्य-खन्य-खान्य-देवयज्या-आपृच्छ्य-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचाय्य-पृडानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्टर्क्यादयः शब्दाश्छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिरण्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formd irregularly :—निष्टर्क्य, देवहूय, प्रणीय, उन्नीय, उच्छिष्य, मर्य, स्तर्या, ध्वर्य, खन्य, खान्य, देवयज्या, आपृच्छ्य, प्रतिषीव्य, ब्रह्मवाद्य, भाव्य, स्ताव्य and उपचाय्यपृड.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्टर्क्य is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut', with the preposition निस्, and the affix ण्यत्, instead of क्यप् which is the regular affix, by 110; निः+कृत्+ण्यत् = निः+तर्क्+य (the root कृत् transformed into तर्क् by transposition) = निष्टर्क्य. As निष्टर्क्यं चिन्वीत पशुकामः.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also देवहूय is formed by adding to the root ह्वयते 'to call' or हू 'to invoke, the affix क्यप् and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment त (VI. 1.71), is not allowed, देव+ह्वे or हू+क्यप् = देवहूयः So also प्र+नी (to lead)+क्यप्=प्रणीयः; उत्+नी+क्यप् = उन्नीयः, उत्+शिष् (to leave)+क्यप् = उच्छिष्यम्; मृ (to die)+यत् = मर्यः; स्तृ (to cover)+यत् = स्तर्या; it is always feminine. ध्वृ (to bend)+यत् = ध्वर्यः; खन् (to dig)+यत् = खन्यः; खन्+ण्यत् = खान्यः; देव (God)+यज् (to sacrifice)+यत् = देवयज्या; always used as feminine. आ+पृच्छ् (to ask)+क्यप् = आपृच्छ्यः, प्रति+सीव )to sew)+क्यप् = प्रतिषीव्यः; ब्रह्मण+वद् (to speak)+ण्यत् = ब्रह्मवाद्यः; भू (to be)+ण्यत् = भाव्यः; स्तु (to praise)+ण्यत् = स्ताव्यः; उप+चि (to collect)+ण्यत्+पृड = उपचाय्यपृडम्. This last word is formed then only when the word पृड follows: and when the sense is that of 'gold'. When it does not mean 'gold', the form is उपचेयपृडम्।

ऋहलोर्ण्यत् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ-हलोः, ण्यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्हलन्ताच्च ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

124. The affix ण्यत् comes after a verb that ends in ऋ (long or short), or in a consonant.

The phrase ऋहलोः is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As कृ+ण्यत् = कार्यम् 'to be made'; हृ+ण्यत् =

हार्यं nom. sing. हार्यम् 'to be taken'; धृ+ण्यत् = धार्यं; 'to be held'; वच्+ण्यत् = वक् + ण्यत् (VII. 3. 52) = वाक्यं (VII. 2. 116) 'to be spoken'; पच्+ण्यत् = पाक्यम्.

**ओरावश्यके ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, आवश्यके (ण्यत्) ॥**

वृत्ति. ॥ उवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति आवश्यके द्योत्ये ॥

125. The affix ण्यत् comes after a root that ends in the letter उ long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix यत्. Thus लु+ण्यत् = लौ+य = लाव्यं (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) 'must be cut'; so also पु+ण्यत् = पाव्यम् 'must be purified'.

When 'necessity' is not indicated we have the form लव्यं 'to be cut' The sûtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word आवश्यक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada, the affix ण्यत् is employed: or 2ndly when, the sense of the affix is that of 'necessity', the ण्यत् is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case, though we could form the words अवश्यलाव्यं &c., we could not form the word लाव्य by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लाव्यं, we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of *Tatpurusha* contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

**आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपिचमश्च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसु-यु-वपि-रपि-लपि-त्रपि-चमः, च, ( ण्यत् )॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वक सुनोतेः यु वपि रपि लपि त्रपि चम् इत्येतेभ्यश्च ण्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. The affix ण्यत् comes after the verbs आसु 'to distil', यु 'to join', वप् 'to sow', रप् 'to speak distinctly' लप् 'to prate', त्रप् 'to be ashamed', and चम् 'to drink'.

The verb आसु is a compound verb formed by the preposition आङ् and the root सु. This sûtra debars यत् that would otherwise have come by sûtra 97 and 98.

Thus आसु+ण्यत् = आसाव्यम्, (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also याव्यम्, वाप्यम्, राप्यम्, लाप्यम्, त्राप्यम् and आचाम्यम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in the sûtra is to indicate that the roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus दभ्+ण्यत् = दाभ्यम् ॥

**आनाय्योऽनित्ये ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनाय्यः, अनित्ये ॥**

वृत्तिः॥ आनाय्य इति निपात्यते अनित्येऽभिधेये । नयतेराङ् पूर्वाण्ण्यदायादेशौ निपात्येते ॥

127. The word आनाय्यः is irregularly formed when meaning 'impermanent'.

This word is thus formed :—आङ्+नी+ण्यत्=आ+नै+य=आनाय्य, (the ऐ being changed into आय् by the analogy of VI. 1. 79).

As आनाय्यो दक्षिणाग्निः. This is a species of Dakshiṇâgni fire. As this fire is *brought* from the Gârhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore it is called ânâyya. This however, is not co-extensive with Dakshiṇâgni. It is that fire which is brought from the Gârhapatya, and has the same *source* with the Dakshiṇagni and Ahavaniyâgni. A Dakshiṇâgni fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family of a well-to-do Vaishya, or from a frying place, or from Gârhapatya fire. When it is taken from the last *i. e.* from Gârhapatya fire, it is ânâyya Dakshiṇâgni. Ahavaniya is also taken from Gârhapatya.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called ânâyya ; for a fragile pot will not be called so. It applies only to the consecrated fire. When it has not this sense, the form is आनेय meaning 'what ought to be brought'.

प्रणाय्योऽसम्मतौ ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणाय्यः, असम्मतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रणाय्य इति निपात्यते ऽसंमताविभिधेये ॥

128. The word प्रणाय्यः is irregularly formed when meaning 'disapproved'.

The word असंमति is a negative word meaning 'non-agreement'. It means also 'disrespect'.

Thus प्रणाय्यश्चोरः 'the thief is to be disliked'.

Why do we say when meaning 'disapproved'. Because otherwise the regular form is प्र+नी 'to lead' +यत्=प्रणेयः 'tractable'.

The word in the sûtra is असंमति which we have translated as 'disapproved'. But the word संमति also means अभिलाष or 'desire' ; and असंमति would therefore, mean 'free from desire or worldly attachment'. Therefore the word असंमति means also 'free from attachment', as in the following sentence :—

ज्येष्ठाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रब्रूयात्, प्रणाय्याय अन्तेवासिने नान्यस्मै कस्मैचन 'let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else'.

पाय्यसांनाय्यनिकाय्यधाय्या मानहविर्निवाससामिधेनीषु ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाय्य-सांनाय्य-निकाय्य-धाय्याः, मान-हविः-निवास-सामिधेनीषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाय्यादयः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं माने हविषि निवासे सामिधेन्यां चाभिधेयायाम् ॥

129. The words पाय्य, सान्नाय्य, निकाय्य and धाय्या are irregularly formed meaning 'a measure', 'an oblation to fire', 'a dwelling', and 'a sacrificial prayer', respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—मा (to measure)+ण्यत् = पाय्यम्, the म being changed into प and another य being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is मेयम् 'to be measured' (मा+ण्यत् = मे+य VI. 4. 65 = मेय). सम्+नी (to lead)+ण्यत् = सान्नाय्यम् 'the oblation'. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is सन्नेयम् । नि+चि (to collect) +ण्यत् = नि+चै+य = नि+चाय+य = निकाय्यः 'a dwelling'. The regular form is निचेय । धा (to put)+ण्यत् = धाय्या (fem.). The sâmadheni is the name of certain *Rik* hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is धेय ।

क्रतौ कुण्डपाय्यसंचाय्यौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतौ, कुण्डपाय्य-संचाय्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डपाय्य संचाय्य इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते क्रतावभिधेये ॥

130. The words कुण्डपाय्यः and संचाय्यः are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed: कुण्ड+पा (to drink)+यत् = कुण्ड+पा+य+य (VII. 3. 33) = कुण्डपाय्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl'. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. सम्+चि (to collect)+ण्यत् = संचाय्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is collected'.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुण्डपानम् and संचेयः.

अग्नौ परिचाय्योपचाय्यसमूह्याः ॥ १३१ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, परिचाय्य-उपचाय्य-समूह्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिचाय्य उपचाय्य समूह्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते अग्नावभिधेये ॥

131. The words परिचाय्यः, उपचाय्यः and समूह्यः are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed:—परि+चि+ण्यत् = परि+चै+य = परि+चाय+य = परिचाय्यः 'sacrificial fire arranged in a circle' (the ऐ being changed into आय् by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel य has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचाय्यः 'a kind of sacred fire'. सम्+वह+ण्यत् = सम्+ऊह्+य = समूह्यः 'a kind of fire'. समूह्यं चिन्वीत पशुकामः let him kindle the Samûhya fire desirous of a victim'.

Why do we say 'when they are names of fire'? Observe otherwise, परिचेयम् 'to be heaped', उपचेयम् 'to be increased', संवाह्यम् 'to be carried'.

**चित्याग्निचित्ये च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्य-अग्निचित्ये, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्यशब्दोऽग्निचित्याशब्दश्च निपात्येते ॥

132. The words चित्य and अग्निचित्य are also irregularly formed.

The word चित्यः comes from the root चि 'to collect', and means fire *i. e.* that which is collected. As चित्योऽग्निः 'the funeral pile fire'. The word अग्निचित्या means, arranging the fire. The affix य has been added to denote condition, together with the augment तुक् (त्). These words have *udâtta* accent on the last vowel. The regular form is चेयम् 'to be gathered'.

**ण्वुल्तृचौ ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ण्वुल-तृचौ, (धातोः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यो ण्वुल्तृचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

133. The affixes ण्वुल् (अक) and तृच् (तृ) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word 'root' is understood in the above aphorism. Thus कृ 'to do' + ण्वुल् = कार + वु (VII. 2. 115) = कार + अक (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारकः 'doer.' कृ + तृच् = कर् + तृ (VII. 3. 84) = कर्तृ nom. sing. कर्ता. So also हारकः and हर्ता.

The च् of तृच् is not indicatory, but distinguishes this affix from तृन् ; the simple तृ includes both तृच् and तृन्, as in V. 3. 59, and VI. 4. 154.

**नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दि-ग्रहि-पचादिभ्यः, ल्यु, णिनि, अचः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिभ्यो गणेभ्यस्त्रयः प्रत्यया यथासंख्यं भवन्ति, नन्द्यादिभ्यो ल्युः, ग्रहादिभ्यो णिनिः, पचादिभ्योऽचः ॥

134. After the verbs classed as नन्द 'to be happy', ग्रह 'to take' and पच् 'to cook' there are the affixes ल्यु (अन) णिनि (इन) and अच (अ) respectively.

The word *âdi* meaning *etcetra,* is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of नन्द class, comes the affix ल्यु; after the verbs of ग्रह class, comes the affix णिनि ; after the verbs of पच् class, comes the affix अच्.

The नन्दादि verbs will not be found in one place in the Dhâtupâtha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapâṭha. Thus नन्द् + ल्यु = नन्द् + यु (I 3. 8) = नन्द् + अन (VI. 1. 1) = नन्दन nom. sing. नन्दनः 'son' (lit. what gladdens). So also from the following causa-

tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names :—वासि—वासनः or वाशनः ; मदि—मदनः ; भूषि—भूषणः (or भूषणः) ; साधि—साधनः ; वर्धि—वर्धनः ; शोभि—शोभनः and रोचि—रोचनः.

The following derivatives are names :—सहि—सहनः ; तपि—तपनः ; दमि—दमनः

So also the following words:—जल्पनः, रमणः, दर्पणः, संक्रन्दनः, संकर्षणः, संहर्षणः, जनार्दनः, यवनः, पवनः, मधुसूदनः, विभीषणः, लवणः (the ण in लवण is irregular), चित्तविनाशनः, कुलदमनः and शत्रुदमनः.

The ग्रहादि verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The following are, however, those verbs:—ग्रह्—ग्राहिन् nom. ग्राही ; उत्सह—उत्साहिन् nom. उत्साही ; उदस्—उदासिन् ; उद्भास्—उद्भासिन् ; स्था—स्थायिन् ; मन्त्र—मन्त्रिन् ; संमर्द—संमर्दिन्. So also the verbs-रक्ष, श्रु, वस्, वप् and शी preceded by नि ; as, निरक्षिन्, निश्राविन्, निवासिन्, निवापिन्, निशायिन्. The verbs याचि, व्याहृ, संव्याहृ, व्रज, वद and वस take णिन् when preceded by the negative particle ; as, अयाचिन्, अव्याहारिन्, असंव्याहारिन्, अव्राजिन्, अवादिन् and अवासिन्. So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings: as, अकारिन्, अहारिन्. So also, अविनायिन्, अविशायिन्, विशयिन्, विषयिन् (meaning a place) विशायिन् and विषायिन्, अभिभाविन् अपराधिन्, उपरोधिन्, परिभविन् and परिभाविन् ।

The following are पचादि words :—पच, वच, वप, वद, चल, तप, पत नदट्, भषट्, वस, गरट् प्लवट्, तरट्, चोरट्, गाहट्, जर, मर, क्षर, क्षम, सूदट्, देवट्, मोरट् सेव, मेष, क्रोध, व्रण, दंश, दश, दम्भ, जारभर, श्वपच, मेघ, कोष, क्षप, मद, रज, दोषट्, चरट् ।

The ट् in नदट् &c., shows that the feminine of these is formed by long ई (IV. 1. 15). The पचादि class is an आकृतिगणः ।

अजिवधिः सर्वधातुभ्यः पठ्यन्ते च पचादयः ।
अण् बाधनार्थमेव स्यात् सिध्यन्ति श्वपचादयः ॥

In fact the affix अच् comes after all verbs, and is not exclusively confined to the verbs above enumerated. The affix अच्, therefore, debars अण् and may be taken to be the universal affix, and by its help the forms like श्वपच &c. may be explained.

इगुपधज्ञाप्रीकिरः कः १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इग्-उपध-ज्ञा-प्री-किरः, कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगुपधेभ्यो जानातेः प्रीणातेः किरतेश्च कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by इ, उ or ऋ (long or short), and after the verbs ज्ञा 'to know', प्री 'to please', and कॄ 'to scatter', comes the affix क (अ).

Thus विक्षिप्+क=विक्षिप nom. sing. विक्षिपः. So also विलिखः 'inscription'; बुधः 'who knows'; कृशः 'lean'; ज्ञा+क=ज्ञः 'who knows' (VI. 4. 64); प्री+क=

प्रिय: 'what pleases'; कॄ+क=कि+अ ( VII. 1. 100 )=किर्+अ ( I. 1.51 )=किर: 'who scatters' *i. e.* 'a hog'.

The words देव 'God', सेव 'service' and मेष 'ram', should be read in the पचादि class of the last sûtra, being formed by the affix अच् and not by क.

**आतश्चोपसर्गे १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, ( कः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. Also after a verb ending in long आ when there is a preposition along with it, the affix क is placed.

This is an *apavâda* of III. 1. 40, and debars the affix ण. Thus प्रस्था+क = प्रस्थ+अ = प्रस्थ: (VI. 4. 64). सुग्लै+क=सुग्ला+अ=सुग्ल: 'very weary'(आ substituted for ऐ by VI. 1. 45.) सुम्लै+क = सुम्ला+अ=सुम्ल: 'very languid'.

The final आ is dropped before the affix क by rule VI. 4. 64. There is elision of long आ when an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क or ङ.

**पाघ्राध्मा धेट् दृशः शः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा-घ्रा-ध्मा-धेट्-दृशः, शः, ( उपसर्गे ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जिघ्रतेः संज्ञायां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

137. The affix श (अ) is employed after the roots पा 'to drink', घ्रा 'to smell', ध्मा 'to blow', धेट् suck', and दृश 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उत्+पा+श = उत्+पिब्+अ (VII. 3. 78)=उत्पिब nom. sing. उत्पिब: ; so also विपिब ; उज्जिघ्र: and विजिघ्र: । उत्+ध्मा+श = उत्+धम्+अ= (VII. 3. 78); उद्धम: ; विधम: ; उत्+धे+श=उद्धय: ; विधय: ; so also उत्+दृश्+श=उत्पश्य:, (VII. 3. 78). so also विपश्य: ;

Some commentators do not read the word 'upasarga' into this sûtra. According to them the forms like पश्य: &c., can be formed also.

The affix श, of which श् is indicatory, the real affix being अ, causes the root to undergo all those changes, which it undergoes in special tenses; for it is a sârvadhâtuka affix there; see sûtra III. 4. 113 and VII. 3, 78.

*Vart:*—Prohibition must be stated of the root घ्रा, when the word to be formed is a name. As वि+आ+घ्रा+क=व्याघ्र: 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling). Here there is क and not the affix श.

अनुपसर्गाल्लिम्पविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजि चेतिसातिसाहिभ्यश्च ॥ १३८॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, लिम्प-विन्द-धारि-पारि-वेदि-उदेजि-चेति-साति-साहिभ्यः, च (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गेभ्यो लिम्पादिभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नौ लिम्पेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गवादिषु विन्देः संज्ञायाम् ॥

138. The affix श is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition : लिम्प, विन्द and the causatives धारि, पारि, वेदि, उद्वेजि, चेति, साति and साहि.

Thus लिम्पः 'smearing'; विन्दः 'acquiring'; धारयः 'holding'; पारयः 'ferrying; वेदयः 'knowing'; उद्वेजयः 'shaking'; चेतयः 'perceiving'; सातयः, and साहयः.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रलिपः; here the affix is क.

*Vart* :—The verb लिप् with the preposition नि takes the affix श. As निलिम्पा 'the name of certain deities', 'a cow'.

*Vart* :—The affix श is employed after विन्द when compounded with the words गो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्दः 'Krishṇa' (protector of cows); अरविन्दः 'a lotus' (having petals like spokes).

ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषा ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ददाति-दधात्योः, विभाषा, ( शः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाञो धाञश्च विभाषा शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix श is optionally employed, after the root दा 'to give', and धा 'to hold', when used without a preposition.

This debars ण. Thus ददः 'giving'; or दायः 'inheritance'; दधः 'holding' or धायः 'having'.

When a preposition is used, the affix श is not employed; as प्रदः, प्रधः.

ज्वलितिकसन्तेभ्यो णः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्वल्-इति-कसन्तेभ्यः, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्वलदीप्तावित्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कसगतावित्येवमन्तेभ्यो विभाषा णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तनोतेर्णं उपसंख्यानम् ॥

140. After the verbs beginning with ज्वल 'to shine' and ending with कस 'to go', when used without a preposition, the affix ण is optionally employed,

The word इति in ज्वलिति indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the *Bhvâdi* class. See No. 804 to 860 in the Dhâtupâtha, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to Sidhânta Kaumudi.

This debars the affix अच्; as ज्वालः or ज्वलः; चालः or चलः.

The affix ण (अ) having an indicatory ण् causes the vriddhi of the penultimate अ. When the affix ण is not used, then अच् is used and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अच्; as प्रज्वलः 'luminous'.

*Vart.*—The verb तन 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix ण; as अवतानः. The conditions 'option' and 'without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb तन् necessarily takes this affix, though compounded with an upasarga.

श्याऽऽद्व्यधास्रुसंस्रतीणवसावहृलिहश्लिषश्वसश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्या-आद्-व्यध-आस्रु-संस्रु-अतीण्-अवसा-अवहृ-लिह-श्लिष-श्वसः, च, (णः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्यैङ् आकारान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः व्यध आस्रु संस्रु अतीण् अवसा अवहृ लिह श्लिष श्वस इत्येतेभ्यश्च णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix ण is employed after the following verbs also :—श्यै 'to go', verbs ending in long आ, व्यध 'to pierce', आस्रु 'to pain', संस्रु 'to flow', अतीण् 'to pass on', अवसा 'to complete', अवहृ 'to take away', लिह 'to lick', श्लिष 'to embrace', and श्वस 'to breathe'.

The root श्यै, before affixes, becomes श्या, (VI. 1. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long आ. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited ण. Thus III. 1. 136 enjoins क when a compound verb ends in आ. But that rule does not apply to the verb श्या.

Thus अवश्यायः 'frost', प्रतिश्यायः 'catarrh', दायः 'inheritance', धायः 'having', व्याधः 'pain', आस्रावः 'wound', संस्रावः 'flow', अत्यायः 'transgression', अवसायः 'conclusion', अवहारः 'taken away', लेहः 'licking', श्लेषः 'embracing', श्वासः 'breath'. See VII. 3. 33.

दुन्योरनुपसर्गे ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-न्योः, अनुपसर्गे, (णः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुनोतेर्नयतेश्चानुपसर्गे णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix ण is employed after the verbs दु 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.

Thus दु+ण=दौ + अ (VII. 2. 115)=दाव: (VI. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also नी+ण=नै+अ=नाय: 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रदव: 'burning'; प्रणय: 'friendship'.

## विभाषा ग्रहः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ग्रहः, ( णः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा ग्रहेर्धातोर्णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भवतेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

143. The affix ण is optionally employed after the verb ग्रह् 'to seize'.

This debars the affix अच्. Thus ग्रह्+ण = ग्रह्+अ (VII. 2. 116) = ग्राह: 'seizing', 'a crocodile'; or ग्रह+अच् = ग्रह: 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a *vyavasthita-vibhâshâ* or definite option, that is to say, the affix ण is *always* used when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is ग्राह. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is ग्रह.

*Vart*:—This rule should be extended to the root भू 'to be' also. Thus:—भाव: 'condition' and भव: 'existence'.

## गेहे कः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गेहे, कः, ( ग्रहः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहेर्धातोः कप्रत्ययो भवति गेहे कर्त्तरि ॥

144. The affix क is employed after the verb ग्रह when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus ग्रह+क (VI. 1. 16) = गृहम् 'a house'. The र is changed into ऋ by the rule of *samprasârana*. The plural form गृहा: means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of गृहं meaning 'house' will be गृहाणि.

## शिल्पिनि ष्वुन् ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पिनि, ष्वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः ष्वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नृतिखनिरञ्जिभ्यः परिगणनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

145. The affix ष्वुन् (अक) comes after a verb, when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

*Vart*:—This affix should be confined to the verbs नृत् 'to dance', खन् 'to dig' and रञ्ज 'to dye'.

Thus नृत्+ष्वुन् = नर्त+अक (VII. 1. 1) = नर्तक: 'dancer'. The letter ष is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by prefixes having indicatory ष् form their feminine gender by the affix ङीष्. Thus

the feminine of नर्त्तक is नर्त्तकी ; so also खनकः 'miner', fem. खनकी ; रजकः 'washerman', fem. रजकी.

In the case of the root रंज the nasal is elided. According to the opinion of the author of *Mahâbhâshya,* only two verbs are governed by this sûtra namely नृत् and खन्. According to him, the verb रञ्ज takes the affix क्वुन्. Thus रञ्ज+क्वुन् = रज्+वु (VI. 4. 37) = रज्+अक (VII. 1. 1) = रजकः, feminine रजिका.

**गस्थकन् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गः, थकन् ( शिल्पिनि ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेस्थकन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

146. The affix थकन्, (थक) comes after the verb गै to 'sing', when the agent so expressed, denotes an artist.

As, गै+थकन् = गाथकः (VI. 1. 45) 'a singer', fem. गाथिका.

**ण्युट् च ॥१४७॥ पदानि ॥ ण्युट्, च ( गः, शिल्पिनि ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गायते ण्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

147. The affix ण्युट् is also employed after the verb गै 'to sing', when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

By the word च 'also', the word गा of the last sûtra is drawn into this. Thus गै+ण्युट्=गा+अन (VII. 1. 1)=गायनः fem. गायनी ; the य is added by VII. 3. 33.

The separation of these rules ( *yoga-vibhâga* ) relating to गै is for the purpose of the sûtras that follow. Had गस्थकन् and ण्युट् च been made one aphorism, the *anuvritti* of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent sûtras. But it is intended that the *anuvritti* of ण्युट् should only run, and hence this *yoga-vibhâga* or division of one sûtra into two.

**हश्च व्रीहिकालयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, च, व्रीहि-कालयोः, ( ण्युट् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेर्जिहीतेश्च धातोर्ण्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति व्रीहौ काले च कर्त्तरि ॥

148. After the verb हा, also the affix ण्युट् is employed when the agent so expressed denotes 'rice' and 'time'.

The verb हा denotes two verbs हाक 'to abandon' and हाङ् 'to go' both belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming जहाति and जिहीते as 3rd per. sing. Thus हा+ण्युट्=हायनः 'a kind of rice' (that which *jahâti* 'leaves off' all water) हायनः 'a year' (that which *jihîte* 'goes through' all conditions.)

The accents are however different in the two. In one case the udâtta is on the middle; in the other, on the last.

**प्रुसृ(स्रु)ल्वः समभिहारे वुन् ॥ १४९॥ पदानि ॥ प्रु-सृ-(स्रु)-ल्वः, समभिहारे, वुन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रु सृ (स्रु) लू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः समभिहारे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. After the verbs प्रु 'to go', सृ 'to move', स्रु 'to flow' and लू 'to cut', the affix वुन् is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, प्रु+वुन्=प्रो+अक (VII. 1. 1)= प्रवकः; so also, सरकः, स्रवकः, and लवकः.

The word *samabhihâra* in the sûtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix *vun* being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed where the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

**आशिषि च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, च, ( वुन् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां धातुमात्राद् वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix वुन् is employed after all verbs, when benediction is intended.

As, जीव्+वुन् = जीवकः 'may he live'; नन्दकः 'may he be happy'.

The word आशीः means a sort of prayer; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of 'an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent'.

ओ३म्

# अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

## BOOK THIRD.

### CHAPTER II.

—:o:—

**कर्मण्यण् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अण्, ( धातोः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र कर्मण्युपपदे धातोरण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शीलिकामिभक्ष्याचरिभ्यो णः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईक्षिक्षमिभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. The affix अण् comes after a verbal root when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely *nivartya*, *vikârya* and *prâpya*.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called *nivartya* object; as कुम्भम् करोति 'he makes a pot'; here मृत् 'mud' the material cause of कुम्भ is unexpressed, therefore, कुम्भ is *nivartya* object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called *vikârya* object; as काण्डलाव: 'the branch-cutter'. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the *prâpya* object; as वेदाध्याय: 'the reading of Veda'; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples:—Of the first kind, we have कुम्भकार: 'a potter' and नगरकार: 'a city-builder'; of the second, we have काण्डलाव: 'a branch-cutter' and शरलाव: 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, वेदाध्याय: 'the learning of Veda' and चर्चापाठ: 'the reading of Charchâ'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village', आदित्यं पश्यति 'he sees the sun', 'हिमवंतं शृणोति 'he hears the Himavat'. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form nouns out of these.

*Vart:*—The affix ण comes after the verbs शील्, काम्, भक्ष्य and आचर and the noun in composition with it, retains its original accent. As मांसशील: 'addicted to flesh', fem. मांसशीला; मांसकाम: 'loving flesh', fem. मांसकामा; मांसभक्ष: 'carnivorous', fem. मांसभक्षा; and कल्याणाचार: 'good-conducted', fem. कल्याणाचारा।

*Vart*:—The affix ख comes after the roots ईक्ष 'to look' and क्षम् 'to forbear' under similar circumstances. As सुखप्रतीक्षः, fem. सुखप्रतीक्षा 'expecting happiness'; बहुक्षमः fem. बहुक्षमा 'much forbearing'.

ह्वावामश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वा, वा, मः, च, (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्वेञ्, वेञ्, माङ्, एतेभ्यश्च कर्मण्युपपदेऽण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix अण् comes after the root ह्वेञ् 'to call', वेञ् 'to weave', माङ् 'to measure', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क (III. 2. 3); as स्वर्ग+ह्वे+अण = स्वर्ग+ह्वा+अ = स्वर्ग+ह्वाय+अ (VII. 3. 33) = स्वर्गह्वायः (the य is added by rule VII. 3. 33, 'when a kṛit affix with an indicatory ण or ञ follows, the augment य is added after the verbs that end in long आ). So also तन्तुवायः, धान्यमायः।

आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अनुपसर्गे, कः, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix क comes after a verbal root that ends in long आ when there is no upasarga preceding it and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्; as गो+दा+क = गो+द्+अ = गोदः 'Giver of cows', (the long आ is elided by VI. 4. 64,)= So also, कम्बलदः 'who gives a blanket'; पार्ष्णित्रम् 'what protects the rear'; अङ्गुलित्रम् 'what protects the finger' (a thimble)'.

Why do we say 'when there is no upasarga'? Witness गोसंदायः 'who ceremoniously gives a cow', वडवसंदाय 'who ceremoniously gives a mare'. Here the compound verb संदा takes the affix अण्.

सुपि स्थः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, स्थः, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्त उपपदे तिष्ठतेः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sûtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sûtra declares that with regard to the verb स्था, the upapada may have any case not necessarily the accusative. As समस्थः = समे तिष्ठति 'who dwells in accessible position'; and विषमस्थः 'having an inaccessible position'.

This sûtra should be divided into two sûtras (yoga-bibhâga). Thus:—(1) सुपि ॥ The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word; as द्वाभ्यां पिबति = द्वि+पा+क = द्विपः (VI. 4. 64) 'who drinks with two organs' *i.e.* the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant'. So also पादपः 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot). कच्छपः 'a tortoise' (that always *protects* its *mouth* by drawing it in, at the approach of danger). (2) सुपिस्थ. ॥ The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first as the verb स्था also ends in a long आ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As आखूनामुत्थानम् = आखूत्थः 'a swarm of rats'; so also शलभोत्थः 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुपि are understood in the sûtras that follow: *viz*: the word कर्मणि in sûtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word सुपि everywhere else.

**तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुन्द-शोकयोः, परिमृज-अपनुदोः, ( कर्मणि, कः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तुन्दशोकयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः परिमृजापनुदोर्धात्वोः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आलस्यसुखाहरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ कप्रकरणे मूलविभुजादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिमृज् 'to wash out' and अपनुद् 'to drive away', when in composition with the words तुन्द 'navel' and शोक 'grief', as objects, respectively.

As तुन्द परिमृज आस्ते 'he lay lazy'. So also शोकापनुदः पुत्रो जातः 'a son, destroyer of sorrow is born'.

*Vart.*—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is 'lazy' and 'giver of happiness'.

*Vart.*—The epithet तुन्द परिमृजः is applied to a lazy person; while तुन्द परिमार्जः means who clears his navel. So शोकापनुदः means giver of happiness, while शोकापनोदः means 'removal of sorrow'.

*Vart.*—The words मूलविभुजः 'a chariot' and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus मूलविभुजः 'a chariot', नखमुचः 'a bow,' काकगुह 'sesamums', कुमुदम् (कौ मोदते) 'a lotus'.

प्रेदाज्ञः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, दा-ज्ञः, ( कर्मणि, कः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ददातेर्जानातेश्च धातोः प्रेणोपसृष्टात् कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. The affix क comes after the root दा 'to give' and ज्ञा 'to know', when taking the preposition प्र and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sûtra 3 the affix क after verbs that ended in long आ and had no *upasarga*. Now begins the case of verbs with upasarga. This debars the affix अण्; as सर्वप्रदः (VI. 4. 64) 'giver of all; liberal', पथिप्रज्ञः (VI. 4. 64) 'acquainted with roads'. The long आ of दा and ज्ञा is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say 'when taking प्र'? With any other *upasarga* these verbs will take the general affix अण्; as गोसंदाय.

समिख्यः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि समि, ख्यः, ( कर्मणि, कः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वात् ख्या इत्येतस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix क comes after the root ख्या 'to tell', when preceded by the preposition सम्, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb ख्या ends in long आ and by III. 2. 3 when compounded with an upasarga, it would have taken the affix अण्. This debars अण्; as गोसंख्या (VI. 4. 64) 'a cowherd' (गा संचष्टे).

गापोष्टक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गा-पोः, टक्, (कर्मणि, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेः पिबतेश्च धातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽनुपसर्गे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुराशीध्वोः पिबतेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसि इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix टक् comes after the verbs गै 'to sing' and पा 'to drink' when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase *anupasarga* is to be read again into this sûtra by *anuvritti* from sûtra 3, though this *anuvritti* had temporarily lain dormant in sûtra 6 and 7. as being unnecessary. This debars क; of this affix ट् and क are indicatory the ट् showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix ङीप् (IV. I. 14)

As, शक्रं गायति = शक्र+गा+टक् = शक्रगः (VI. 4. 64) 'who sings Sakra hymns'. सामगः 'singer of Sâma'. fem. शक्रगी and सामगी।

*Vart.*—The affix टक् comes after the verb पा when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words सुरा and शीधु as its object,

This is an important modification of the general sûtra. Thus सुरापः fem. सुरापी 'wine-bibber'; शीधुपः fem. शीधुपी 'spirit-drinker'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with surâ and sidhu'? Observe क्षीरपा ब्राह्मणी 'the milk-drinking Brâhmaṇi'; formed by the affix क and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix ई but by आ.

Why do we say 'when पा means to drink'? When पा means 'to protect' this affix is not used; as सुरापा 'who protects wine'.

When these words are compounded with an *upasarga* they do not take टक् but अण्; as शक्रसंगायः, सामसंगायः ।

*Vart.*—There is diversity in the Chhandas as to the employment of these affixes; as या ब्राह्मणी सुरापी or सुरापा भवति नैनां देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति 'the gods do not carry that Brâhmaṇi to the regions of her husband who drinks wine'.

हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, अनुद्यमने, अच्, ( कर्मणि ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेर्धातोरनुद्यमने वर्त्तमानात् कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अच्प्रकरणे शक्तिलांगलांकुशयष्टितोमरघटघटीधनुष्षु ग्रहेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रे च धार्यर्थे ॥

9. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृञ् when it does not mean 'to raise up', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्. The word उद्यमन means 'to raise a load'. Thus अंशं हरति = अंशहरः 'who takes a share, or sharer'; so रिक्थहरः 'an heir'. (हृ + अच् = हर् + अ = हरः) ( VII. 3. 84 ).

Why do we say 'when it does not mean to raise up'? For then the affix अण् will be employed; as भारहारः 'a burden-bearer, a porter'.

*Vart.*—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when in composition with the words शक्ति 'spear', लाङ्गल 'plough', अंकुश 'goad', यष्टि 'staff', तोमर 'an iron club', घट 'jar', घटी 'a small jar', धनुष् 'a bow'; as शक्तिग्रहः 'a lancer', लाङ्गलग्रहः 'a plough-man', अंकुशग्रहः 'an elephant driver', यष्टिग्रहः 'a staff-bearer', तोमरग्रहः 'a club-bearer', घटग्रहः, घटीग्रहः 'a jar-bearer', धनुर्ग्रहः 'a bow-bearer'.

*Vart.*—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह when the word सूत्र is in composition with it and the sense is that of 'holding'; as सूत्रग्रहः 'a thread-holder'. When it has not this meaning we have सूत्रग्राहः 'a thread-taker'.

वयसि च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, च, (हरतेः, कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयसि गम्यमाने हरतेः कर्मण्युपपदे ऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

10. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृञ् when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sûtra the verb हृञ् has the sense of *udyamana* which was specifically excluded in the last. The word वयस् means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the *upapada*, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the *upapada* naturally takes place ; as अस्थिहरः श्वा 'the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones' (lit. when it can raise it up) ; कवचहरः क्षत्रियकुमारः 'the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. 'to raise up or bear) the shield'; so that the verb here has the sense of 'raising up'.

आङि ताच्छील्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, ताच्छील्ये, (कर्मणि, हरतेः, अच् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वाद्धरतेः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृञ् (when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition आङ्, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word ताच्छील्यं means a natural inclination or habitual occupation ; as पुष्पाहरः (पुष्प + आहरति = पुष्प + आहर) 'he who has a natural tendency towards fetching flowers or whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers' ; so also फलाहरः ।

Why do we say ' when denoting inclination' ? Otherwise the affix will be अण् ; as भारमाहरति = भाराहारः 'who brings load'.

अर्हः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हः, ( कर्मणि, अच् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्ह पूजायां, अस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix अच् comes after the verb अर्ह 'to respect', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As पूजार्हा 'deserving of respect' ; so also गन्धार्हा, मालार्हा ।

स्तम्बकर्णयो रमिजपोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-कर्णयोः, रमि-जपोः, ( सुपि, अच् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बकर्ण इत्येतयोः सुबन्तयोरुपपदयोर्यथासंख्यं रमिजपोर्धात्वोरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हस्तिसूचकयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The affix अच् comes after the verb रम् 'to sport' and जप् 'to whisper' when the case-inflected words स्तम्ब 'a clump of grass' and कर्ण 'ear' are in composition with them respectively.

The verb रम् is intransitive and the verb जप् can take an object under very limited circumstances, only namely when the object denotes *Sabda* ; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case ; therefore, the *upapada* here must be a general case-inflected word. Hence we have read the anuvṛitti of the word सुप् from sûtra 4 into this, the anuvṛitti of the word कर्म being inapplicable here.

*Vart.*—The words to be formed must have the sense of 'elephant' and a 'tale-bearer'. Thus स्तम्बेरमते = स्तम्बेरम: 'an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)' कर्णे जपति = कर्णेजप: 'a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)'.

The affix अच् is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an 'elephant' and a 'traducer'. Thus स्तम्बे रन्ता 'who plays in clusters of grass'. कर्णे जपिता मशक. 'the mosquito that hums near the ear'.

शमि धातोः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमि, धातोः, संज्ञायाम्, ( अच् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शम्युपपदे धातुमात्रात्संज्ञायां विषये ऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अच् is employed after the verbal roots when शम् 'well', is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As शम् + कृ + अच् = शंकर: lit. 'who does good'. So also शंभव: शंवद: । All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word *dhâtu* in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvṛitti from sûtra III. 1. 91 ? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word *dhâtu* shows that there is prohibition of the affix ट, that comes after the verb कृ in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word शम् is in composition. The affix अच् will be employed after the verb कृ and not the affix ट, when शम् is an upapada, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III. 2. 20). The result is that the feminine of शंकर will be शंकरा, and not शंकरी, which, had the affix been ट, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). शंकरा means 'a female-ascetic,' 'a vulture' and 'one having the habit of doing good'.

अधिकरणे शेतेः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, शेतेः, (सुपि,अच् )॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङ्धातोरधिकरणे सुबन्तउपपदे अच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पार्श्वादिषूपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दिग्धसहपूर्वाच्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्तानादिषु कर्त्तृषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गिरौ डश्छन्दसि ॥

15. The affix अच् comes after the verb शी 'to lie down' when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i. e., in the locative case.

The word सुप् (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As खे शेते = खशयः 'who lies in the sky'.

*Vart.*—The affix अच् comes after the verb शी when in composition with the words पार्श्व 'ribs', &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as पार्श्वाभ्यां शेते = पार्श्वशयः 'who reclines on his sides', उदरशयः 'who lies on his stomach', पृष्ठशयः 'who lies on his back'.

*Vart.*—And when the verb शी is preceded by the word दिग्धसह; as दिग्धेन सह शेते = दिग्धसहशयः ॥

*Vart.*—So also when the words उत्तान &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As उत्तानः शेते = उत्तानशयः। अवमूर्द्धा शेते = अवमूर्द्धशयः।

*Vart.*—In the Chhandas the affix डच् comes after the verb शी when in composition with the word गिरि in the locative. As गिरौ शेते = गिरिशः 'who lies on the mountain'.

The letter ड of डच् is indicatory denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1. 64).

चरेष्टः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरेः, टः, ( अधिकरणे, सुपि ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरेर्धातोरधिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix ट comes after the verb चर 'to go' when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word *adhikarana* of the last sûtra is understood in this. As कुरुषु चरति = कुरुचरः 'who goes among the Kurus'. मद्रचरः 'who goes among the Madras'.

Of the affix ट the real affix is अ, the letter ट being indicatory, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix ङीप्. (See. IV. 1. 14), as कुरुचरी, मद्रचरी।

**भिक्षासेनादायेषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा-सेना-आदायेषु, च, (चरेः, टः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षा सेना आदाय इत्येतेषूपपदेषु चरेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix ट is employed after the verb चर् 'to go', when the words in composition with it are भिक्षा 'alms', सेना 'army' and आदाय 'having taken'.

The *anuvritti* of the words 'in the locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sûtra.

Thus भिक्षाचरः 'a beggar' (who goes for alms); सेनाचरः 'one who goes with an army'; आदायचरः 'one who goes after having taken'.

**पुरोऽग्रतोऽग्रेषु सर्त्तेः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरस्-अग्रतस्-अग्रेषु, सर्त्तेः, (टः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरस् अग्रतस् अग्रे इत्येतेषूपपदेषु सर्त्तेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ट comes after the verb सृ 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are पुरः, अग्रतः and अग्रे, all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As पुरः सरति = पुरःसरः 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also अग्रतः सरः and अग्रसरः 'going in front, a leader'.

**पूर्वे कर्त्तरि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, कर्त्तरि, (सर्त्तेः, टः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दे कर्त्तृवाचिन्युपपदे सर्त्तेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ट comes after the verb सृ 'to go', when पूर्व is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पूर्वः सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix अण् will be employed. As पूर्वदेशं सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going to the east'.

**कृञो हेतुताच्छील्यानुलोम्येषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृञः, हेतु-ताच्छील्य-आनुलोम्येषु, (कर्म्मणि, टः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे करोतेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति हेतौ ताच्छील्ये आनुलोम्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

20. The affix ट comes after the verb कृञ् 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word हेतु of this sûtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical हेतु meaning agent. ताच्छील्य means habit, and literally, the

act of being accustomed to that. आनुलोम्य comes from अनुलोम meaning 'with the hair', that is to say, regular, in natural order, successive, and hence favourable, and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c. Of हेतु, we have शोककरी कन्या 'the daughter that causes sorrow ; यशस्करी विद्या 'honorable science'; कुलकरं धनं 'the family making wealth'. Of ताच्छील्य, we have श्राद्धकरः 'who performs obsequies' ; अर्थकरः 'who amasses wealth'. Of आनुलोम्य, we have प्रैषकरः 'who promptly does what he is directed' ; वचनकरः 'who regularly does what he is told'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As कुम्भकारः 'potter', नगरकारः 'city-maker'.

**दिवाविभानिशाप्रभाभास्कारान्तानन्तादिबहुनान्दीकिंलिपिलिबिबलिभक्तिकर्तृचित्रक्षेत्रसंख्याजङ्घाबाह्वहर्यत्तद्धनुररुष्षु ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवा-बिभा-निशा-प्रभा-भास्-कार-अन्त-अनन्त-आदि-बहु-नान्दी-किं-लिपि-लिबि-बलि-भक्ति-कर्तृ-चित्र-क्षेत्र-संख्या-जङ्घा-बाहु-अहः-यत्-तत्-धनुस्-अरुष्षु, (कर्म्मणि, सुपि, करोतेः, टः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवादिषूपपदेषु करोतेर्धातोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ किं यत्तद्बहुषु कृञोऽज्विधानम् ॥

21. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make when the following words are in composition with it :— दिवा 'by day', विभा 'light', निशा 'night', प्रभा 'splendour', भाः 'light', कार 'work', अन्त 'end', अनन्त 'endless', आदि 'beginning', बहु 'many', नान्दी 'benediction', किम् 'what', लिपि 'writing', लिबि 'writing', बलि 'oblation', भक्ति 'devotion', कर्तृ 'agent', चित्र 'painting', क्षेत्र 'field', words denoting numerals, जङ्घा 'thigh', बाहु 'hand', अहः 'day', यत् 'what', तत् 'that', धनुस् 'bow' and अरुस् 'wound'.

Both the words '*karma*' and '*sup*' are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these upapadas stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix ट comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last sûtra.

Thus दिवाकरः 'the sun.' The word दिवा is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the *upapada*, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So विभाकरः 'the sun' (light-maker); निशाकरः 'the moon' (the night-maker); प्रभाकरः 'the sun' ; भास्करः 'the sun' (the letter स is not changed into *visarga*, as it has been so read in the sûtra) ; कारकरः 'agent' ; अन्तकरः 'death' (end-maker); अनन्तकरः 'magnifying to any extent' ; आदिकरः 'the creator' ; बहुकरः 'the busy' ; नान्दीकरः 'the speaker of benediction' ; किंकरः 'a servant' ; लिपिकरः 'a

scribe'; लिपिकरः 'a scribe'; बलिकरः 'offering sacrifice'; भक्तिकरः 'a devotee'; कर्तृकरः 'an agent'; चित्रकरः 'a painter'; क्षेत्रकरः 'a cultivator'; एककरः 'doing only one thing', द्विकरः 'doing two things'; त्रिकरः 'doing three things'; जङ्घाकरः 'a runner, an express'; बाहुकरः 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; अहस्करः 'the sun'; तत्करः 'doing that'; यत्करः 'doing that'; धनुष्करः 'bow-maker'; अरुष्करः 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

*Vart.*—The affix अच् comes after the verb कृ when किम्, यत्, तत् and बहु are in composition with it. The speciality of ट affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long ई; while the feminine of words derived by अच् is formed by long आ. Thus किंकरा, यत्करा, तत्करा and बहुकरा; these words might be said to belong to the अजादि class (See IV. 1. 31).

कर्मणि भृतौ ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, भृतौ, (कर्मणि, करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मशब्द उपपदे कर्मवाचिनि करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो भवति भृतौ गम्यमानायाम् ॥

22. The affix ट comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the word कर्म is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word भृति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्म does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्म; as कर्मकरः 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is अण्; as कर्मकारः 'an artisan'.

न शब्दश्लोककलहगाथावैरचाटुसूत्रमंत्रपदेषु ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, शब्द-श्लोक-कलह-गाथा-वैर-चाटु-सूत्र-मंत्र-पदेषु, (करोतेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दादिषूपपदेषु करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix ट does not come after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it:—शब्द 'sound', श्लोक 'verse', कलह 'quarrel', गाथा 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चाटु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix ट being prohibited, the general affix अण् takes its place. As शब्दकारः 'sounding, sonorous'; श्लोककारः 'a verse-maker'; कलहकारः 'one who foments quarrels'; गाथाकारः 'a writer of Gâthâs or prakritee verses'; वैरकारः 'an enemy'; चाटुकारः 'a flatterer'; सूत्रकारः 'an author of sûtras'; मन्त्रकारः 'a composer of Mantras'; पदकारः 'an author of Padapâtha'.

स्तम्बशकृतोरिन् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-शकृतोः, इन्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्ब शकृत् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोरिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्रीहिवत्सयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. The affix इन् comes after the verb कृ when the objects in composition with it, are the words स्तम्ब 'a sheaf', and शकृत् 'ordure'.

Thus स्तम्ब+कृ+इन्=स्तम्बकरि nom. sing. स्तम्बकरिः; so also शकृत्करिः.

*Vart.*—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf' respectively. Therefore स्तम्बकरिः means 'rice', and शकृत्करिः, 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf', the affix अण् is employed. As स्तम्बकारः 'sheaf-maker', शकृत्कारः 'ordure-maker'.

हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ ॥२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, दृति-नाथयोः, पशौ, (कर्मणि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृति नाथ इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः हरतेर्धातोः पशौ कर्तरि इन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix इन् comes after the verb हृ 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words दृति 'a leather-bag' and नाथ 'a master'.

Thus दृतिहरिः 'a dog' (a carrier of skin); नाथहरिः 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix अण् is employed; as दृतिहारः 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नाथहारः 'a carrier of his master'.

फलेग्रहिरात्मम्भरिश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ फलेग्रहिः-आत्मम्भरिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलेग्रहिः आत्मम्भरिः इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते ॥

26. And the words फलेग्रहि and आत्मम्भरि are irregularly formed.

The word फलेग्रहिः is formed by adding the affix इन् to the verb ग्रह and making the upapada end in the vowel ए. Thus फलानि गृह्णाति=फलेग्रहिः 'the fruit-bearing *i. e.* a tree'.

The word आत्मम्भरिः is formed by adding the augment मुम् (म) to the upapada आत्म, and the affix इन् to the verb भृञ्. Thus आत्मानं बिभर्ति = आत्मम्भरिः 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As कुक्षिम्भरिः 'gluttonous, selfish' (caring to feed his own belly). उदरम्भरिः 'gluttonous, selfish'.

**छन्दसि वनसनरक्षिमथाम् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वन-सन-रक्षि-मथाम्, ( कर्मणि, इन् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वन सन संभक्तौ, रक्ष पालने, मथ विलोडने, एतेभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे छन्दसि विषये इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix इन् comes after the verbs वन् 'to honor' सन् 'to worship' रक्ष् 'to protect' and मथ् 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus ब्रह्मवनिं त्वा क्षत्रवनिम् (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3); उत नो गोषणिं (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) यौ ते श्वानौ पथिरक्षी (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) इन्द्रा यातूनामभवत् पराशरो हविर्मथीनाम् (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

**एजेः खश् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एजेः, खश्, ( कर्मणि ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ एजृ कम्पने इत्यस्मात् ण्यन्तात्कर्मण्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खश्प्रत्यये वातशुनीतिलशर्धेष्वजधेट्तुदजहातीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

28. The affix खश् comes after the verb एज् 'to tremble' when ending in णि (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of एज्. Of the affix खश् the letters ख् and श् are indicatory, the real affix is अ. The ख् indicates that the augment मुम् is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The श indicates that this is a Sârvadhâtuka affix (III 4. 113), and therefore the vikaraṇas like शप् &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus अङ्गमेजयति = अङ्गमेजयः (अङ्ग + एजि + शप् + खश् = अङ्गम् + एजे + अ + अ) 'who awes the limbs'; जनमेजयः 'who awes mankind'.

*Vart*:—The affix खश् comes after the verbs अज् 'to go', धेट् 'to suck', तुद् 'to strike', हा 'to leave' when in composition with the words वात 'wind', शुनी 'a bitch', तिल 'sesamum' and शर्ध 'flatulence'. As वातमजाः मृगाः 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); शुनिन्धयः 'a bitch-sucker'; तिलंतुदः 'an oilman'; शर्धञ्जहा माषाः 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long ई of शुनी is shortened by VI. 3. 66.

**नासिकास्तनयोर्ध्माधेटोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-स्तनयोः, ध्मा-धेटोः, (कर्मणि, खश् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकास्तनयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्ध्माधेटोर्धात्वोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्तने धेटः ॥ नासिकायांतु ध्मश्च धेटश्च ॥

29. The affix खश् comes after the verbs ध्मा 'to blow' and धे 'to suck' when नासिका 'nose' and स्तनं 'breast' are in composition with them as object.

The rule of *yathâsankhyâ* as given in I. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For स्तन is compounded with धेट्; as (स्तन+धे+खश्=स्तन+ मुम्+धे+शप्+खश्=स्तन+म्+धय्+अ+अ)=स्तनन्धयः 'an infant' (sucking the breast).

But नासिका is compounded with both ध्मा and धे; as नासिका+ध्मा+खश् =नासिक+म्+धम+अ (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78)=नासिकंधमः 'blowing and breathing through the nose'. So also नासिकंधयः 'drinking through the nose'.

That the rule of *yathâsankhyâ* does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the *Dvandva* compound नासिकास्तनयोः. By rule II. 2. 84. the word स्तन containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of स्तनंधयः is स्तनंधयी, as the verb धे has an indicatory ट्।

**नाडीमुष्टयोश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडी-मुष्टयोः, च, (कर्मणोः, ध्मा-धेटोः, खश् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नाडी मुष्टि इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्ध्माधेटोः खश् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. And when the words नाडी 'a tube' and मुष्टि 'fist' are objects in composition with the verbs ध्मा and धे, the affix खश् is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed *Dvandva* compound नाडीमुष्टि showes the non-applicability of the rule of *yathâsankhyâ*; for मुष्टि being a घि ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नाडिन्धमः 'blowing through the tube'; मुष्टिन्धमः 'blowing through the fist'; नाडिन्धयः 'sucking through the tube', an infant; मुष्टिन्धयः 'an infant'.

The word 'and' in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus घटिन्धमः, घटिन्धयः, खारिन्धमः, खारिन्धयः, वातन्धमः, वातन्धयः, 'a mountain'.

This sûtra is not Pâṇini's, but is really a Vârtika, raised to the rank of a sûtra by the author of the Kâsikâ. The Vârtikakâra divides the last sûtra in this way: (1) स्तने धेटः ॥ (2) नतौ मुष्टौ ध्मश्च ॥ (3) नासिकायां ध्मश्च धेटश्च ॥ (4) नाडी मुष्टि घटीखारीष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

**उदि कूले रुजिवहोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, कूले, रुजि-वहोः, ( खश् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजो भङ्गे, वह प्रापणे, एताभ्यामुत्पूर्वाभ्यां कूले कर्मण्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix खश् comes after the verbs रुज् 'to break into pieces' and वह 'to carry', when preceded by the upasarga उत्, and the word कूल 'bank' is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलमुद्रुजति = कूलमुद्रुजः 'breaking down banks' (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कूलमुद्वहः 'tearing up or carrying away the bank'.

**वहाभ्रे लिहः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह-अभ्रे, लिहः ॥ ( खश् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वह अभ्र इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः लिहेर्धातोः खश् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix खश् comes after the verb लिह 'to lick' when the object in composition with it, is the word वह 'the shoulder of an ox' or अभ्र 'a cloud'.

As वहंलिहो गौः 'the shoulder-licking cow'; अभ्रंलिहो वायुः 'the cloud-licking wind'.

**परिमाणे पचः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणे, पचः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणं प्रस्थादि, तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदे पचेः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix खश् comes after the verb पच् 'to cook' when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus प्रस्थं पचति = प्रस्थंपचा 'a pot having the capacity to cook a *prastha* of food'; so also द्रोणम्पचः, खारिम्पचः 'a kettle'.

**मितनखे च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित-नखे, च, ( पचः, खश् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ मित नख इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः पचेः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix खश् is employed after the verb पच्, when मित 'a measured partition' or नख 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last sûtra. Thus मितम्पचा ब्राह्मणी 'the Brâhmaṇi who cooks a little *i. e* a. niggardly Brâhmaṇi'; नखम्पचा यवागूः 'the nail-scorching barley gruel'.

**विध्वरुषोस्तुदः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधु-अरुषो, तुदः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विधु अरुस् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः तुदेर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix खश् comes after the verb तुद् 'to strike', when विधु 'the moon' or अरुस् 'a wound' is the word in composition with it as object.

As विधुन्तुदः राहुः 'the Râhu that eclipses the moon; अरुन्तुदः 'corrosive, wounding the vital parts'. For the addition of the augment मुम् after the word अरुस्, see VI. 3. 67.

असूर्यललाटयोर्दृशितपोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ असूर्य-ललाटयोः, दृशि-तपोः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असूर्यललाट इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः दृशितपोर्धात्वोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix खश् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' and तप् 'to heat' when असूर्य and ललाट are the words in composition with them respectively as objects.

Thus असूर्य+दृश्+खश्=असूर्यम्पश्यः; as असूर्यम्पश्या राजदाराः 'the king's wives not even seeing the sun' (being shut up in the harem, and so having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them, much less any irreverent gaze).

So also ललाटन्तपः 'heating the fore-head' (such as the sun).

The word असूर्य is an incomplete or impossible compound, as the negative अ applies to the verb दृश and not to the word सूर्य'. This is in opposition to the rule of *samartha pada vidhi* (II. 1. 2).

उग्रम्पश्येरम्मदपाणिन्धमाश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उग्रम्पश्य-इरम्मद-पाणिन्धमाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग्रम्पश्य इरम्मद पाणिन्धम इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

37. The words उग्रम्पश्य, इरम्मद and पाणिन्धम are irregularly formed.

Thus उग्रं पश्यति = उग्रम्पश्यः 'fierce-looking'; इरया मदति = इरम्मदः 'delighting in drinking an epithet of Agni, a flash of lightning'. So पाणिन्धमाः पन्थानः 'chilly roads'.

प्रियवशे वदः खच् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय-वशे, वदः, खच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय वश इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्वदेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खच्प्रकरणे गमेः सुप्युपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विहायसो विह च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खच्च डिद्वा वक्तव्यः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ डे च विहायसो विहादेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

38. The affix खच् comes after the verb वद् 'to speak' when प्रिय or वश is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus प्रियं वदति=प्रियंवद: 'who speaks kindly'; वशंवद: 'who professes submission'.

Of the affix खच्, the letters ख् and च् are indicatory; ख् indicates the insertion of the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 37), and च् shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI. 4. 94).

In the case of प्रिय and वश with वद्, the affix खश् would have given the same result as the affix खच्. Making a separate affix in this sûtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खश्.

*Vart.*—The affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As मितंगमो हस्ती 'the slow-moving *i. e.* an elephant'; मितंगमा हस्तिनी 'the slow-moving *i. e.* a she-elephant'.

*Vart.*—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम् is विहायस्; and the letter is then replaced by the word विह. As विहायसा गच्छति = विहंगम: 'a bird (that which goes through the sky)'.

*Vart.*—In the *Vârtikas* above given, the affix खच् may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory ड. The force of ड is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विहंग: or विहंगम: 'a bird'. So also भुजंगम: or भुजंग: 'a serpent' (what goes crookedly).

*Vart.*—विहायस् is replaced by विह when the affix ड (III 2. 48) comes after the verb गम्; as विहग: 'a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विहग, विहङ्ग, विहङ्गम।

द्विषत्परयोस्तापेः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषत्-परयोः, तापे, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषत्परयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोस्तापेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix खच् comes after the verb ताप् 'to heat', when द्विषत् or पर is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb तप् belongs both to *Bhû* and *Chur* classes. Both are meant in the sûtra. In the case of *Bhvâdi*, the verb तापि is the causative ending in णि of तप्; while in *Churâdi*, all verbs take णि.

Thus द्विषन्तं तापयति = द्विषन्तप: (VI. 4. 94) 'one who destroys his enemies', so also परन्तप: 'one who subdues his enemies, a hero'.

This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix अण् will be employed; as द्विषतीं तापयति = द्विषतीतापः।

**वाचि यमो व्रते ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचि, यमः, व्रते, (खच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः॥ वाक्शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे यमेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति व्रते गम्यमाने ॥

40. The affix खच् comes after the verb यम् 'to curb' when the word वाक् 'speech' is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word व्रत means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharma-sâstra. Thus वाचंयम आस्ते 'he has taken the vow of rigid silence'.

Why do we say 'vow'? Otherwise the form is वाग्यामः 'restraining speech' (VI. 3. 69).

**पूःसर्वयोर्दारिसहोः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूः-सर्वयोः, दारि-सहोः, (खच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पुर् सर्व इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्यथासंख्यं दारिसहोर्धात्वोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भगे च दारेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix खच् comes after the verbs दारि 'to split' and सह् 'to bear' when respectively in composition with the words पुर् 'a city' and सर्व 'all', as objects.

As पुरं दारयति = पुरन्दरः 'name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)' (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); सर्वंसहो राजा 'the king who is all-forbearing'.

*Vart.*—So also when the word भग is in composition with the verb दारि; as भगन्दरः 'a fistula in the anus'.

**सर्वकूलाभ्रकरीषेषु कषः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-कूल-अभ्र-करीषेषु, कषः, (खच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्व कूल अभ्र करीष इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु कषेर्धातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix खच् comes after the verb कष् 'to rub' when the words सर्व 'all', कूल 'bank', अभ्र 'cloud' and करीष 'a dry cow-dung', are in composition with it as object.

As सर्वंकषः खलः 'a villain, a rogue'; कूलंकषा नदी 'a river'; अभ्रंकषो गिरिः 'a mountain'; करीषंकषा वात्या 'a strong wind'.

मेघर्त्तिभयेषु कृञः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेघ-ऋति-भयेषु, कृञः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मेघ ऋति भय इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु कृञः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपपदविधौ भयादिग्रहणं तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयति ॥

43. The affix खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words मेघ 'cloud', ऋति 'misfortune' and भय 'fear' are in composition as objects.

As मेघंकरः 'producing clouds' ; ऋतिंकरः 'giving pain' ; भयंकरः 'frightful'.

*Vart.*—The *tadanta vidhi* applies in the case of upapadas like भय. &c. This is an exception to the *vârtika* under I. 1. 72. by which, in the case of affixes, *tadanta-vidhi* was prohibited. Thus we have अभयंकरः 'who causes security'.

क्षेमप्रियमद्रेऽण् च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेम-प्रिय-मद्रे, अण्, च, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेम प्रिय मद्र इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु करोतेरण्प्रत्ययो चकारात् खच्च ॥

44. And the affix अण् as well as खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words क्षेम 'happiness', प्रिय 'pleasant' and मद्र 'joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खच् is also to be included.

Thus क्षेमकारः or क्षेमंकरः 'propitious' ; प्रियकारः or प्रियंकरः 'showing kindness' ; मद्रकारः or मद्रंकरः 'causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix अण्, when its *anuvritti* could have been read into this sûtra by using the word वा 'optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix ट of sûtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted ; so that the feminine of those words is formed by आ and not by ई ; as अल्पारम्भाः क्षेमकरा: 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

आशिते भुवः करणभावयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिते, भुवः, करण-भावयोः, (खच्, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दे सुबन्ते उपपदे भवतेर्धातोः करणे भावे चार्थे खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix खच् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आशित 'satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word 'सुपि' of sûtra 4 is understood here.

Thus आशितंभवः meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. आशितो भवती अनेन. Here the word denotes instrument. And आशितंभवः also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

संज्ञायां भृतॄवृजिधारिसहितपिदमः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां, भृ-तॄ-वृ-जि-धारि-सहि-तपि-दमः, (कर्मणि, सुपि, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ तॄ वृ जि धारि सहि तपि दम इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix खच् comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name :—viz. भृ 'to bear', तॄ 'to cross over', वृ 'to choose', जि 'to conquer', धारि 'to hold', सहि 'to bear', तपि 'to heat' and दम 'to subdue'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुपि of sûtra 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus विश्वंभरा 'earth' (that which supports all) ; रथंतर 'the Rathantara Sâma' ; पतिंवरा 'a girl' lit. (who is about to choose a husband) ; शत्रुंजयः 'an elephant' lit. (who conquers the enemy) ; युगंधरः 'a mountain' or 'the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed' ; शत्रुंसहः 'Satrunsaha' (withstanding an enemy) ; शत्रुंतपः 'Satruntapa' (destroying an enemy) ; अरिंदमः 'Arindama' (victorious).

Why do we say 'when denoting a name' ? Observe कुटुम्बभारः 'he who supports his family'.

गमश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, च, (सुपि, संज्ञायां, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः सुप्युपपदे संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. And the affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुतंगमः 'Sutangama'. Though the verb गम् could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the *anuvritti* of गम् into the subsequent sûtras.

अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वानन्तेषु डः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त-अत्यन्त-अध्वन्-दूर-पार-सर्व-अनन्तेषु, डः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त अत्यन्त अध्वन् दूर पार सर्व अनन्त इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु गमेर्डप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ड प्रकरणे सर्वत्रपन्नयोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उरसो लोपश्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुदुरोरधिकरणे ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरो देशे ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ डप्रकरणेऽन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥

48. The affix ड comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with the following words as its objects :—अन्त 'end', अत्यन्त 'excessive', अध्वन् 'road', दूर 'far', पार 'across', सर्व 'all' and अनन्त 'endless'.

The anuvritti of the word संज्ञायाम् does not extend to this. As अन्तगः 'having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant'; अत्यन्तगः 'going too fast'; अध्वगः 'a way-farer'; दूरगः 'going to a distant place'; पारगः 'completely familiar'; सर्वगः 'going everywhere, the Supreme Being'; अनन्तगः 'going to infinity, moving for ever'.

Of the affix ड the letter ड् is indicatory, the real affix being अ. The ड indicates that the टि portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as अन्त+गम्+ड = अन्त+ग्+अ (the टि portion अम् of गम् is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says 'when that which has an indicatory ड, follows, there is elision of the टि of a भ'; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word गम् here is not one of those called भ (I. 4. 18); because the presence of ड as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

*Vart.*—The ड is also employed when the words in composition are सर्वत्र 'everywhere' and पन्न 'creeping'; as सर्वत्रगः 'Supreme Spirit'; पन्नगः 'snake.'

*Vart.*—So also when the word in composition is उरस् 'breast', and there is elision of its final. As उरस्+गम्+ड=उरगः 'moving on breast, a snake'.

*Vart.*—So also with the words सु 'well' and दुर् 'bad', when the resulting words denote location. As सुगः 'that in which one goes easily, easy of access'. दुर्गः 'difficult of access, a fort'.

*Vart.*—So also with the preposition निर्, the word to be formed meaning country; as निर्गः 'a country'.

*Vart.*—Others say, that this ड is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्त्र्यगारगः (स्त्री+अगार+गम्+ड) 'who goes to the women's compartment'; ग्रामगः 'going to the village'; गुरुतल्पगः 'who pollutes the bed of his guru'.

आशिषि हनः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, हनः, (डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां हन्तेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे ड प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दाराबाहनोऽणन्तस्य च टः संज्ञायाम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चारौ वा ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणि समि च ॥

49. The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix ड is understood in this sûtra. Thus तिमिं वध्यात् = तिमिहः 'may he kill the whale'; शत्रुहः 'may he kill the enemy'.

Why do we say 'when benediction is intended'? Otherwise we have शत्रुघातः 'who kills his enemy'.

*Vart.*—The affix अण् comes after the verb आहन् when the word दारु 'wood' is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into ट, when the word so formed denotes a name. As दारु आहन्ति = दार्वाघाटः (दारु + आहन् + अण्) 'the wood-pecker'.

*Vart.*—So also optionally when the word चारु 'beautiful' is in composition under the circumstances detailed in the last *vârtika*: as चार्वाघाटः or चार्वाघातः।

*Vart.*—So also, when the verb हन् is preceded by the preposition सम्, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix अण् is employed; and the final is replaced by ट; as वर्णान् संहन्ति = वर्णसंघाटः or वर्णसंघातः 'the alphabet'; पदानि संहन्ति = पदसंघाटः or पदसंघातः 'connecting the words that are separated, an annotator'.

**अपे क्लेशतमसोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, क्लेश-तमसोः, ( कर्मणि, हनः, डः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्धन्तेः क्लेशतमसोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्डप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is compounded with the preposition अप्, and when the object in composition with it, is the word क्लेश 'pain' or तमस् 'darkness'.

As, क्लेशापहः पुत्रः 'the pain-allayer *i. e.* the son'; तमोपहः सूर्यः 'the darkness-destroyer *i. e.* the sun'.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

**कुमारशीर्षयोर्णिनिः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार-शीर्षयोः, णिनिः, (हनः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार शीर्ष इत्येतयोरुपपदयोः हन्तेर्णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it is कुमार 'a child', or शीर्ष 'head'.

Thus कुमार+हन्+णिनि = कुमार+घात+इन् (VII. 3. 54 and VII. 3. 32) = कुमारघातिन् nom. sing. कुमारघाती 'child-killer'. So also शीर्षघातिन् nom. sing. शीर्षघाती 'head-killer'.

The word शीर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस्।

**लक्षणे जायापत्योष्टक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे, जाया-पत्योः, टक्, (हनः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जायापत्योः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्लक्षणवति कर्त्तरि टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is in composition with the word जाया 'wife' or पति 'husband' as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this sûtra gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षणे कर्तरि or लक्षणवति कर्त्तरि. In the former case the meaning will be 'when the agent is itself the mark'; as जायाघ्नः 'a mole' (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one's wife). In the latter case the meaning will be 'when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word'; as जायाघ्नः 'the murderer of his wife'; पतिघ्नी 'the murderer of her husband'.

Of the affix टक् the letters ट् and क् are indicatory. The ट् shows that the feminine is formed by ई, and क् causing elision of the penultimate अ of हन्. Thus जाया+हन्+टक् = जाया+ह्न्+अ (VI. 4. 98) = जायाघ्नः (VII. 3. 54).

**अमनुष्यकर्तृके च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-मनुष्य-कर्तृके, च, (टक्, हनः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अमनुष्यकर्त्तृके वर्तमानाद्धन्तेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. And the affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As जायाघ्नस्तिलकालकः 'the mole' (literally that which indicates the death of one's wife); पतिघ्नी पाणिरेखा 'the line of the palm of the hand' (that which indicates the death of one's husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. श्लेष्मघ्नं मधु 'honey' (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). पित्तघ्नं घृतं 'clarified butter' (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say 'when the agent is not a human being'? Observe आखुघातः शूद्रः 'a Sûdra' (literally one who kills the mice). Here the affix is अण्.

Why is the affix टक् not employed in the following? चोरघातो हस्ती 'an elephant' (*i. e.* who kills a thief.) Here the word is formed by the affix अण् on the analogy of sûtra III. 3. 113 which allows a diversity in case of *kritya* affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a *krit* affix.

**शक्तौ हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्तौ, हस्ति-कपा-(वा)टयोः, ( हनः, टक् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ गम्यमानायां हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्हन्तेष्टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it as its object is हस्ती 'elephant' or कपाट 'gate' and when the sense indicated is that of power.

This sûtra applies where the agent is a human being. As हस्तिनं हन्तुं शक्तः=हस्तिघ्नः मनुष्यः 'a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant'; so also कपाटघ्नः 'a burglar' ( who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say 'where power is indicated'? Observe विषेण हस्तिनं हन्ति = हस्तिघातः 'who kills the elephant by poison'. Here the affix is अण्.

**पाणिघताडघौ शिल्पिनि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाणिघ-ताडघौ, शिल्पिनि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिघ ताडघ इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते शिल्पिनि कर्तरि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ राजघ उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The words पाणिघ and ताडघ are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix क is employed after the verb हन् in composition with पाणि 'hand' and ताड 'a blow' as object; then the टि portion of हन् *i. e.* अन् is elided, and ह is changed into घ irregularly. Thus पाणि+हन्+क=पाणि+ह्+अ=पाणिघः 'a drummer' (workman or handicraftsman); ताडघः 'a smith'.

Why 'when denoting an artificer'? Observe पाणिघातः 'boxing'; ताडघातः 'hammering'.

*Vart*:—The word राजघः should be enumerated in this connection; राजघः 'a regicide'.

**आढ्यसुभगस्थूलपलितनग्नान्धप्रियेषु च्व्यर्थेष्वच्वौ कृञः करणे ख्युन् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आढ्य-सुभग-स्थूल-पलित-नग्न-अन्ध-प्रियेषु, च्वि-अर्थेषु, अच्वौ, कृञः, करणे, ख्युन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आढ्यादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु च्व्यर्थेष्वच्व्यन्तेषु करोतेर्धातोः करणे कारके ख्युन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The affix ख्युन्, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it as objects:—आढ्य 'rich', सुभग 'fortunate', स्थूल 'big', पलित 'grey', नग्न 'naked', अन्ध 'blind' and प्रिय 'pleasant', provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्वि, though not actually ending in the affix च्वि.

The affix च्वि ( V. 4. 50. ) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verbs भू 'to become', कृ 'to make' and अस् 'to be' ; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The च्वि being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold ; namely, words ending in च्वि and words not ending in च्वि. Both may have the force of च्वि. [In the present sûtra, however, the words that actually end in च्वि have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix च्वि, but have the force of च्वि are included in the present sûtra.

Thus आढ्य + कृ + ख्युन् = आढ्य + कर् + अन् = आढ्यंकरणं 'that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich, viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching' ; सुभगंकरणम् 'making happy' ; स्थूलंकरणम् 'by which one becomes big' ; पलितंकरणम् 'rendering grey' ; नग्नंकरणं 'making naked' ; अन्धंकरणम् 'making blind' ; प्रियंकरणम् 'showing kindness'.

Why do we say 'when the force is that of the affix च्वि' ? Otherwise आढ्यं तैलेन कुर्वन्ति *i. e* अभ्यञ्जयन्ति 'they anoint with oil. Here though something is joined with what it previously was not joined, namely with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of च्वि and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say 'when not ending in the affix च्वि' ? Observe आढ्यी कुर्वन्ति अनेन 'they make rich by this'. Here the affix ख्युन् is not employed.

It might be objected : 'well if ख्युन् is not used, then the affix ल्युट् must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between ख्युन् and ल्युट् ; both having the efficient portion यु ; what is then the use of prohibiting च्वि ? We reply, 'because there is this prohibition, when the affix ख्युन् is not employed the affix ल्युट् will also be not employed. Thus by implication the affix ल्युट् is also prohibited. The prohibition of च्वि in this sûtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow'.

Pâtanjali observes this prohibition as superfluous, because there is no distinction between ल्युट् and ख्युन्. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by नञ्, स्नञ्, ईकक्, अक् and ख्युन् take ई in the feminine as well as the words तरुन and तलन. Nor there is any distinction in their *samâsas.* For in both the cases it will be *nitya samâsa.* Nor is the prohibition made for the sake of the augment मुम्. For it being an indeclinable, मुम् cannot come after it. The prohibition therefore is of no use to this sûtra but it is inserted here for the sake of the following sûtras.

कर्त्तरि भुवः खिष्णुच्खुकञौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, भुवः, खिष्णुच्-खुकञौ, ( आढ्यादिषु ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आढ्यादिषु सुबन्तेषूपपदेषु च्व्यर्थेष्वच्व्यन्तेषु भवतेर्धातोः कर्त्तरि कारके खिष्णुच्-खुकञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

57. The affixes खिष्णुच् and खुकञ्, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb भू 'to become', when it is in composition with words आढ्य &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्वि though not ending in च्वि.

Thus आढ्यम्भविष्णुः 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; आढ्यम्भावुकः 'becoming rich'; सुभगंभविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming happy'; स्थूलंभविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming big'; पलितंभविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming grey'; नग्नम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming naked'; अन्धंभविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming blind'; प्रियम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming an object of affection, amiable'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent'? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of च्वि, otherwise not; as आढ्यो भविता 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in च्वि; आढ्यी भविता।

स्पृशोऽनुदके क्विन् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृशः, अनुदके, क्विन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृशेर्धातोरनुदके सुबन्तउपपदे क्विन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix क्विन् comes after the verb स्पृश् 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than उदक 'water'.

By sûtra 4 of this chapter, the *anuvritti* of the word सुपि is to be read into this sûtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the *anuvritti* of the word कर्म instead of सुपि, because the verb स्पृश् is a transitive verb, and after

such verbs, the anuvritti of कर्म ought to come by sûtra 4'? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvritti of सुपि in this case; because the word कर्तरि of the last sûtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents whether objects, instruments &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृश्, nom. sing. घृतस्पृक् 'he who touches clarified butter'. स्पृश् + क्विन् + सु = स्पृश् + वि + o (VI. 1. 68) = स्पृक् + o (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 2. 62). So also मन्त्रेण स्पृशति = मन्त्रस्पृक् 'who touches with hymns'; जलेन स्पृशति = जलस्पृक् 'who touches with water'. But उदकेन स्पृशति = उदकस्पर्शः; here we have the general affix अण्.

The न् of क्विन् is to distinguish this affix from affixes like क्विप् &c. For, had it been merely क्वि, then in sûtra VIII. 2. 62. we should have used क्वि प्रत्ययस्य कुः, and it would have been ambiguous, for क्वि might be explained as meaning both क्वि and क्विप्, as क्य means क्यप्, क्यप् &c. To remove this ambiguity, न् is added to make a distinctive affix. The न् cannot be for the sake of accent. (VI. 1. 117), the verb being monosyllabic would of itself have taken that accent.

**ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्रग्दिगुष्णिगञ्चुयुजिक्रुञ्चां च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥**
**ऋत्विक्-दधृक्-स्रक्-दिक्-उष्णिक्-अञ्चु-युजि-क्रुञ्चाम्, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्विगादयः पञ्चशब्दाः क्विन्प्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते अपरे त्रयो धातवो निर्दिश्यन्ते ॥

59. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent', स्रक् 'a garland', दिक् 'a direction' and उष्णिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix क्विन्; and so also after the verbs अञ्चु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and क्रुञ्च 'to approach', the affix क्विन् is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus ऋतु + यज् + क्विन् = ऋत्विक् 'he who performs sacrifice in the season (ऋतौ) or to the season (ऋतुम्). This word, however is a रूढि word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. धृष् + क्विन् = दधृक्. Here there is redupl ication and the final has acute accent. सृज् + क्विन् = स्रक्. Here there is augment अम्. दृश् + क्विन् = दिक्. So also उत् + स्निह् + क्विन् = उष्णिक्. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix क्विन् comes after the three roots युज्, अञ्चु, and क्रुञ्च. Being read along with the five above-mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of क्विन् to these verbs. Thus the affix क्विन् comes after अञ्चु only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in composition. As प्र + अञ्चु + क्विन् = प्राञ्च् nom. sing. प्राङ् (VI. 4. 24; VII. 1. 70, VIII. 2. 23 and 62) 'east'; so also प्रत्यङ् 'west'; उदङ् 'north'.

The affix क्विन् comes after युजिर् and क्रुञ्च् when these are uncombined. Thus युज्+क्विन्=युज्. In nominative singular, युज्+सु = युञ्ज्+स् (VII. 1. 71)= युञ्ज्+0 (VI. 1. 68)=युङ् (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root युज् is in composition with an *upapada*, it takes the affix क्विप् (see sutra 61). As अश्वयुक् 'yoked with horses'.

So also क्रुञ्च्+क्विन् = क्रुञ्च्, nom. sing. क्रुङ्, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the न (VI. 4. 24) of क्रुञ्च् is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

त्यदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदिषु, दृशः, अनालोचने, कञ्, च, ( क्विन् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादिषूपपदेषु दृशोर्धातोरनालोचनेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानात् कञ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्विन्च ॥

60. **And the affix कञ् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' when it is in combination with त्यद् &c. and does not signify perception.**

The force of 'and' is that the क्विन् also comes under similar circumstances. त्यद् &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27. Thus त्यादृश् nom. sing. त्यादृक्, 'such-like' when it is formed by क्विन्; and त्यादृशः 'such-like' when the affix is कञ्. So also तद्+दृश्+क्विन्=तादृश् (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. तादृक् (VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and तादृशः when कञ् is the affix. So यादृक् or यादृशः 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter ञ् of कञ्? It is for the sake of accent; the *udâtta* is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicatory ञ् or न् (VI. 1. 117). But the indicatory न् would have given the same accent, there being no difference between कञ् and कन् in this respect. The indicatory ञ् then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix कञ् from कन् in sûtra IV. 1. 15 in which कञ् is taken and not कन्. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for कञ्क्वरप् of that sûtra, we should have read कन् क्वरप् so that the feminine of words formed by कन् would have also taken long ई, so that the feminine of यावकः (याव+कन् V. 4. 29) would have been यावकी instead of यावका.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception'? See तं पश्यति = तद्दर्शः 'who sees that'. The words त्यादृक्, तादृश् &c. are crude nouns, in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

*Vart.*—This rule applies also when the words समान and अन्य are in composition with दृश्. 'As सदृक् or सदृशः 'like'(समान+दृश्+क्विन्=स+दृश् VI. 3. 89); so also अन्यादृशः or अन्यादृक् 'of another kind'.

*Vart.*—The affix क्स comes also after the root दृश्. As तादृक्षः, यादृक्षः, अन्यादृक्षः and कीदृक्षः। तद्+दृश्+क्स = ता+दृश्+क्स (VI. 3. 91.)=तादृष्+स (VIII. 2. 36) = तादृक्+स (VIII. 2. 41) = तादृक्+ष(VIII. 3. 59) = तादृक्षः।

**सत्सूद्विषद्रुहदुहयुजविदभिदच्छिदजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि क्विप् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-सू-द्विष-द्रुह-दुह-युज-विद्-भिद्-छिद्-जि-नी-राजाम्, उपसर्गे, अपि, क्विप्, ( सुपि ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सदादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्ते उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix क्विप् comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz:—सद् 'to sit', सू 'to bring forth', द्विष् 'to hate', द्रुह् 'to bear malice', दुह् 'to milk', युज् 'to join', 'to concentrate the mind', विद् 'to know', 'to become', 'to consider', भिद् 'to divide', छिद् 'to cut', जि 'to conquer', नी 'to lead' and राज् 'to shine'.

The phrase 'the word ending with a case-affix' is understood in this sûtra. The *anuvritti* of कर्म is not to be taken in this sûtra for the same reasons as in sûtra 58 *ante.* The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix *i. e.* they are also *subanta* words Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (*jñâpaka*) that wherever in the previous sûtras, the word *subanta* (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not include an upasarga (III 1. 106).

The root सू being read in conjunction with द्विष् shows that अदादि class verb is meant here, and not तुदादि class. The verb युज् includes, both युजिर् 'to join' and युज् 'to concentrate one's mind'. The verb विद् includes the three verbs having the sense of 'to know', 'to become' and 'to consider', but does not include the verb विद् 'to gain', because that root has an indicatory ऌ (विद्ऌ) while all these verbs have indicatory अ.

Thus, सद्—शुचिषत् 'dwelling in purity'; अन्तरिक्षसत् 'dwelling in the skies', 'epithets of Brahma' (Kath. 5. 2); उपसत् 'serving'. सू—अण्डसूः 'oviparous'; शतसूः 'bringing forth hundred'; प्रसूः 'parent'. द्विष्—मित्रद्विट् 'treacherous'; प्रद्विट् 'hostile'. द्रुह्—मित्रध्रुक् 'treacherous'; प्रध्रुक् 'hostile' (VIII. 2. 37). दुह्—गोधुक् 'cow-milker'; प्रधुक् 'milker' (VIII. 2. 32. and 37). युज्—अश्वयुक् 'carriage'; प्रयुक् 'impulse'. विद्—वेदवित् 'knower of Veda'; प्रवित् 'knower'; ब्रह्मवित् 'knower of Brahma'. भिद्—काष्ठभित् 'wood-cutter'; प्रभित् 'cutter'. छिद्—रज्जुच्छित् 'rope-cutter'; प्रच्छित् 'a cutter'. जि—शत्रुजित् 'enemy-conqueror'; प्रजित् 'conqueror'. नी—सेनानीः 'leader of an army'; प्रणीः 'a leader'; ग्रामणीः 'head-borough'; अग्रणीः 'first'. (Why is there cerebral ण in these words? Because the word ग्रामणी has a cerebral ण in

sûtra V. 2. 78 and that indicates that these words will have ण, as also by sûtra VIII. 4. 3). राज्—विराट् 'splendour'; सम्राट् 'emperor' (the letter म is added by sûtra VIII. 3. 25).

This sûtra is a continuation and expansion of sûtras 75 and 76 *sup*.

**भजो ण्विः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भजः, ण्विः, ( उपसर्गे, अपि, सुपि )॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भजेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि ण्विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix ण्वि comes after the verb भज् 'to share' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood in this sûtra. As अर्द्धं भजते = अर्द्धभाज् nom. sing. अर्द्धभाक् 'sharing a half'. So also when in composition with a preposition; as प्रभाक् 'division'.

**छन्दसि सहः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, सहः, (उपसर्गे, सुपि, ण्विः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये सहेर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे ण्विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. In the Chhandas, the affix ण्वि comes after the verb सह् 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words '*upasarga*' and '*supi*' are understood here. As तुर+सह्+ण्वि =तुरासाह् nom. sing. तुराषाट् 'name of Indra'. The dental स is changed into cerebral ष by VIII. 3. 56, and the ह् into ट by VIII. 2. 31. The final अ of तुर is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig Veda. I. 175. 2, III. 48 5.

**वहश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहः, च, (छन्दसि, ण्विः, सुपि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वहेर्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये सुबन्त उपपदे ण्विप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix ण्वि comes after the verb वह् 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As प्रष्ठवाह् 1st sing. प्रष्ठवाट् 'carrying a *prashtha* measure'; so, दित्यवाट् ।

The division of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras, into which the anuvritti of वह् only is carried and not of सह्. See Yajur. Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

**कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु ञ्युट् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कव्य-पुरीष-पुरीष्येषु, ञ्युट्, ( छन्दसि, सुपि, वहः) ॥**

वृत्ति. ॥ कव्य पुरीष पुरीष्य इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु छन्दसि विषये वहेर्धातोर्ञ्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. In the Chhandas the affix ञ्युट् comes after

the verb वह् when it is in composition with the words कव्य 'oblation of food to deceased ancestors', पुरीष 'fæces' and पुरीष्य 'water'.

As कव्यवाहनः पितॄणाम् (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the *pitris*'; पुरीषवाहनः 'carrier of water'; पुरीष्यवाहनः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44). The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ई।

हव्येऽनन्तःपादम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हव्ये, अनन्तः-पादम्, (छन्दसि, वहः, ञ्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हव्यशब्दे उपपदे छन्दसि विषये वहेर्धातोर्ञ्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति, अनन्तःपादं चेद्वहिर्वर्त्तते ॥

66. The affix ञ्युट् comes in the Chhandas, after the verb वह् 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word हव्य 'an oblation to gods', provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pâda (fourth part of a stanza).

As अग्निश्च हव्यवाहनः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods'. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2).

When this word occurs in the middle of a pâda, or at the beginning, the form is हव्यवाट्, which is derived by adding the affix ण्वि (sûtra 64). As हव्यवाडग्निरजरः पिता नः 'the never-decaying *agni* or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father'. (Rig. Veda. III. 2. 2.)

जनसनखनक्रमगमो विट् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खन-क्रम-गमः, विट्, (छन्दसि, उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्त उपपदे छन्दसि विषये विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix विट् (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs जन् 'to be born', सन् 'to bestow', खन् 'to dig', क्रम् 'to pace' and गम् 'to go', when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long आ.

The words छन्दसि, उपसर्गे and सुपि are understood in this sûtra. The verb जन् includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen'; so also सन् means both 'to give' and 'to worship'.

Of the affix विट् the letter ट् is indicatory, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of जन्, सन् &c. is replaced by long आ when the affix विट् follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67.

As अप् + जन् + विट् = अब्जाः (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41); गोजाः 'born in the heaven *i.e.* God' (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from सन्—गोषाः 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII. 3. 108); गोषा इंद्रो नृषा असि 'O Indra bestower of cows! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From खन्—बिसखाः 'digger of lotus stalk'; कूपखाः 'digger of well'. From क्रम्—दधिक्राः 'who gets milk' (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From गम्—अग्रेगा उन्नेतृणाम् 'the leader'.

## अदोऽनन्ने ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, अनन्ने, (सुपि, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदेर्धातोरनन्ने सुब्युपपदे विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when in composition with a case-inflected word other than अन्न 'food'.

The *anuvritti* of the word 'Chhandasi' does not extend to this sûtra. Thus आममत्ति = आमात् 'eating raw food'; शस्यात् 'granivorous'.

But with अन्न as an upapada, we have अन्नादः 'eating food', which is formed by the general affix अण् (III 2. 1.)

## क्रव्ये च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रव्ये, च, (अदः, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रव्यशब्द उपपदे अदेर्धातोर्विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when the word क्रव्य is in composition with it.

As क्रव्यमत्ति = क्रव्यात् 'carnivorous'.

Why has it been made a separate sûtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sûtra also? To this the vârtika replies: 'This has been made a separate sûtra in order to indicate that the rule of वासरूप (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix अण् will not apply in the alternative. If the affix अण् does not apply, how then we get the form क्रव्यादः which is evidently formed by the affix अण्? The affix अण् comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked'; thus क्रव्यादः means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, *i. e.* a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while क्रव्यात् means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word क्रव्यादः in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under पृषोदरादि class of sûtra VI. 3. 109.

## दुहः कब्घश्च ॥ ७० ॥ दुहः, कप्-घः, च, (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुहेर्धातोः सुब्युपपदे कप्प्रत्ययो भवति घकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

70. The affix कप् comes after the verb दुह् 'to milk' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter घ replaces its final.

As कामदुघा धेनुः 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk'; so also अर्थदुघा, धर्मदुघा ।

**मंत्रे श्वेतवहोक्थशस्पुरोडाशो ण्विन् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मंत्रे, श्वेतवह-उक्थशस्-पुरोडाशः, ण्विन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वेतवह उक्थशस् पुरोडाश् इत्येतेभ्यो ण्विन् प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्वेतवहादीनां डस्पदस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix ण्विन् comes after the words श्वेतवह, उक्थशस् and पुरोडाश् ।

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada ; the fact of their being so given indicates that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix ण्विन् comes after the verb वह् preceded by the upapada श्वेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As श्वेता एनं वहन्ति = श्वेतवाह् nom. sing. श्वेतवाः 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix ण्विन् is applied to the verb शंस् 'to praise' when preceded by the word उक्थ as object or instrument ; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उक्थानि उक्थैर्वा शंसति = उक्थशास्, nom. sing. उक्थशाः (Rig. Ved. II. 39. 1.) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The ण्विन् is applied after the verb दाशृ 'to give', preceded by पुरो, and द is changed into ड, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो दाशन्ति एनं = पुरोडाश्, nom. sing. पुरोडाः (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2) 'an offering'.

*Vart*:—The augment डस् is added to the words श्वेतवाह् &c., when the *pada* affixes follow. Thus before *pada* terminations श्वेतवाह् becomes श्वेतवस् । Therefore its Instrumental dual is श्वेतवोभ्याम्, pl. श्वेतवोभिः ।

The augment डस् is not applied before सर्वनामस्थान and भ terminations. As श्वेतवाहौ, श्वेतवाहः ।

**अवे यजः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, यजः, (ण्विन्, मन्त्रे) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपदे यजेर्धातोर्ण्विन्प्रत्ययो भवति मंत्रे विषये ॥

72. In the Mantra literature, the affix ण्विन् comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word अव्.

As अवयाज्, nom. sing. अवयाः (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest'; as त्वं यज्ञे वरुणस्यावया असि 'Thou art the priest of Varuna in the sacrifice'.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras in which the *anuvritti* of यज

only runs. This word is thus declined :—

| | sing. | dual | plural. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1st. | अवयाः, | अवयाजौ, | अवयाजः |
| 2nd. | अवयाजं, | अवयाजौ, | अवयाजः |
| 3rd. | अवयाजा, | अवयोभ्यां, | अवयोभिः |

**विजुपे छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विच्, उपे, छन्दसि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपउपपदे यजेश्छन्दसि विषये विच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix विच् comes after the verb यज् when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपयड्भिरूर्ध्वं वहन्ति 'they carry it up with the उपयज् formulas'. उपयज् is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvṛitti of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brâhmaṇa literature also.

The च् is indicatory and is useful in including the affix विच् in the larger group called वि (which includes क्विन्, क्विप्, ण्वि, विट्), as in the sûtra वेरपृक्तस्य (VI. 1. 67).

Why has this sûtra been made, since the affix विच् would have been valid even by aphorism 75? The sûtra has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपयज् is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

**आतो मनिन्क्वनिब्वनिपश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, मनिन्-क्वनिप्-वनिपः, च, (छन्दसि, सुपि, विच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुप्युपपदे छन्दसि विषये मनिन् क्वनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकाराद्विजपि ॥

74. The affixes मनिन्(मन्), क्वनिप्(वन्), वनिप्(वन्) and विच् come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long आ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विच्. Thus सु दा + मनिन् = सुदामन्, 1st. sing. सुदामा (Rig. VI. 20. 7) 'one who gives liberally'; अश्व + स्था + मनिन् = अश्वत्थामन्, 1st. sing. अश्वत्थामा 'the name of Asvatthâman' ; सु धा + क्वनिप् = सुधी + वन् (VI. 4. 66) = सुधीवन्, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'having good understanding' ; सु पा + क्वनिप् = सुपीवन्, 1st. sing. सुपीवा 'a good drinker'. भूरि + दा + वनिप् = भूरिदावन्, 1st. sing. भूरिदावा (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal' ; घृतपावन् 1st. sing. घृतपावा (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विच् is also included in this aphorism. As कीलाल + पा + विच् = कीलालपाः (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'nectar-drinker'; शुभंयाः (Rig. IV. 3. 6. and Pâṇini VII.

3. 46) 'beautifully going'; रामस्योपक्षः 'an offering of Râma.' (see sûtra III. 3. 106 and Yajur. Ved. XXX. 9).

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यंते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यंते, (मनिन्, क्वनिप्, वनिप्, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्योऽनाकारान्तेभ्यो मनिन् क्वनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते, विच्च ॥

75. These affixes viz. मनिन्, क्वनिप्, वनिप्, and विच् are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long आ.

The word छन्दसि is not understood here. As सु+शॄ 'to injure' +मनिन् =सुशर्मन्, 1st. 'sing. सुशर्मा 'who destroys well *i. e.* destroys sin or ignorance'. प्रातर्+इ 'to go'+क्वनिप्=प्रातर्+इत्+वन् (VI. 1. 71)=प्रातरित्वन्, 1st. sing. प्रातरित्वा 'who goes early'. वि+जन्+वनिप्=वि+जा+वन् (VI. 4. 41)=विजावन्, 1st. sing. विजावा 'who brings forth'. अग्रेगावा 'who goes before'. रिष्+विच्=रेष् (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रेट् 'who injures'; as in रेडसि पर्णं नये: (Yajur. Ved. VI. 18).

The word 'also' in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms, that is to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. As पीवा, धीवा.

The words 'are seen' in this sûtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we *see* a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

क्विप् च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विप्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यः सोपपदेभ्यो निरुपपदेभ्यश्च छन्दसि भाषायां च क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. And the affix क्विप् is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapada or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sanskrit.

As उखायाः स्रंसते = उखास्रत् (VI. 4. 24) 'falling from the pot'; पर्णध्वत् 'falling from the leaves'; वाहात् भ्रश्यति = वाहाभ्रश्, 1st. sing. वाहाभ्रट् 'falling from a car'. The हा is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 8.

स्थः क च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थः, क, च, (सुपि, उपसर्गे, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था इत्येतस्माद्धातोः सुप्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति क्विप् च ॥

77. The affixes क and क्विप् come after the verb स्था when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. 1. 4, स्था would have taken क and by rule III. 1. 75, it would have taken क्विप् also? This repetition is for the purpose of prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the

sûtra III. 2. 14 prohibited the sûtra III. 2. 4, and the present sûtra removes that prohibition. Thus शंस्थः and शंस्थाः। But for this sûtra, this form could not have been evolved; for, with the upapada शम्, the verb स्था would have taken the affix अच् by III. 2. 14.

सुप्यजातौ णिनिस्ताच्छील्ये ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, अजातौ, णिनिः, ताच्छील्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजातिवाचिनि सुबन्त उपपदे ताच्छील्ये गम्यमाने धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्प्रतिभ्यामाङि सर्त्तेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साधुकारिणि च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ब्रह्मणि वदः ॥

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix णिनि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उष्ण+भुज्+णिनि=उष्णभोजिन्, 1st. sing. उष्णभोजी 'who eats his meal hot'. So also शीतभोजी &c.

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus'? Witness ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयिता 'the inviter of Brâhmaṇas'. We cannot form ब्राह्मणामामन्त्री

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed'? Witness उष्णं भुङ्क्ते कदाचित् 'he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvṛitti of the word 'supi' was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhânta Kaumudi. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अनुयायिन्, अनुजीविन्, उपजीविन् &c.

*Vart.*—The verb सृ in composition with the prepositions उत् or प्रति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उदासारिन्, fem. उदासारिणी, 1st. plural उदासारिण्यः. So also प्रत्यासारिणी, pl. प्रत्यासारिण्यः।

*Vart.*—So also when the sense is 'having skill in such and such action'. As साधुकारी 'excellent worker'; साधुदायी 'giving liberally'.

*Vart.*—So also after the verb वद preceded by ब्रह्म. As ब्रह्मवादिन् in ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति 'the knowers of Brahma say'.

कर्त्तर्युपमाने ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, उपमाने, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवाचिनि उपमान उपपदे धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix णिनि comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word denoting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being 'doing something like that', that is to say, when the

upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix refers.

Thus उष्ट्र इव क्रोशति = उष्ट्रक्रोशिन् 'who makes a noise like a camel'; ध्वांक्षराविन् 'who makes a noise like a crow'.

This sûtra applies where 'habit' is not indicated : or where 'genus' is denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say 'when expressing the agent'? Witness as अपूपानिव भक्षयति माषान् 'he eats *mâsha* like *apûpa*'. Here अपूप is object and not agent, and hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say 'denoting a standard of comparison'? Otherwise there will be no composition. As उष्ट्रः क्रोशति 'the camel makes noise'. For the accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

व्रते ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रते, (धातोः, सुपि, णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रते गम्यमाने सुबन्त उपपदे धातोर्णिनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix णिनि comes after a verb, in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word व्रत means a 'vow' as regulated and ordained by the Scriptures. This condition 'when vow is expressed' applies to the completed word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada, and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्थण्डिलशायिन् 'the vow of sleeping on bare ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow'. अश्राद्धभोजिन् 'who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Srâddha ceremony.

Why do we say 'when vow is to be expressed'? Otherwise there is no composition. As स्थण्डिले शेते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sleeps on bare ground'.

This sûtra is also an exception to III. 2 78 applicable when habit is not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, आभीक्ष्ण्ये, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्ण्ये गम्यमाने धातोर्बहुलं णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix णिनि comes after a verb diversely when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word आभीक्ष्ण्य means continued repetition, that is to say, zealous practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As कषायपायिणो गान्धाराः 'the people of Gândhâra are kashâya-drinkers'. कषाय + पा + णिनि = कषाय + पा + युक + णिनि (VII. 3. 33). So also क्षीरपायिण उशीनाराः 'the people of Usinâra are milk-drinkers'. सौवीर-पायिणो बाह्लीकाः 'the people of Bâhlika are sauvira-drinkers'.

By using the word 'diversely' in the sûtra, this affix is not applied in other places, as in the following :—कुल्माषखादः 'a grain eater'.

मनः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः, (सुपि, णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्यतेः सुबंत उपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

82. The affix णिनि comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'supi' is understood in this sûtra· As दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; शोभनंमानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb मन् belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation ; because the anuvritti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divâdi or Tanâdi मन् the resulting form would be the same, namely मानिन्. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix खश् there would be difference of form owing to the vikarana, *i. e.*, in the 4th conjugation श्यन् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

आत्ममाने खश्च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्ममाने, खश्, च, (णिनिः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्ममाने वर्त्तमानान्मन्यतेः सुप्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात्णिनिश्च ॥

83. And the affix खश् comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being 'thinking himself as such').

The word आत्ममान means thinking of one's own self. By the word 'and' it is meant that the affix णिनि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix, thinks himself possessed of the qualities of 'handsomeness' &c., denoted by the upapada. As दर्शनीयंमन्यः or दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; पण्डितंमन्यः or पण्डितमानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say 'when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self'? Witness दर्शनीयमानी देवदत्तस्य यज्ञदत्तः 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome by Devadatta.

Of the affix खश् the letter ख् causes मुम् augment by VI. 3. 66 ; and श् makes it a sârvadhâtuka affix, which brings in the proper vikaranas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.

भूते ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत इत्यधिकारो वर्त्तमाने लडिति यावत्, यदित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामः भूत इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

84. All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an adhikâra or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose anuvritti is also understood throughout the subsequent sûtras; see III. 1. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb यज्, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix णिनि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the sûtra, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अग्निष्टोमेनेष्टवान्=अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with an Agnishṭoma or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time'? Otherwise these affixes will not be employed. As अग्निष्टोमेन यजति 'he sacrifices with Agnishṭoma'.

करणे यजः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, यजः, (णिनिः, भूते)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजतेर्धातोः करणउपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

85. The affix णिनि comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The anuvritti of णिनि and not of ख्यु is to be read into this sûtra. As अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with Agnishṭoma.' Here Agnishṭoma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

कर्मणि हनः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, हनः, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि उपपदे हन्तेर्धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते काले ॥

86. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As पितृव्यघातिन् 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; मातुलघातिन् 'who has killed his maternal uncle'; हन्+णिनि=घन्+णिनि (VII. 3. 54)=घत्+णिनि (VII. 3. 32)=घातिन् (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चौरं हतवान् 'he has killed the thief'.

The anuvritti of the word कर्मणि of this aphorism extends up to sûtra III. 2. 96.

ब्रह्मभ्रूणवृत्रेषु क्विप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म-भ्रूण-वृत्रेषु, क्विप्, (कर्मणि, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु हन्तेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

87. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb हन् 'to

kill' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: ब्रह्म 'a Brâhmaṇa', भ्रूण 'a fœtus' and वृत्र 'Vṛitra'.

As ब्रह्महन्, 1st. sing. ब्रह्महा 'who has killed a Brâhmaṇa'; भ्रूणहा 'who has killed a fœtus'; वृत्रहा 'who has killed Vṛitra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sûtra 76 *ante*, the affix क्विप् was ordained to come after all verbs, and therefore would have come after the verb हन् also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a niyama. *i. e.* the verb हन् takes the affix क्विप् only when it is in composition with the words ब्रह्म &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When हन् has, as upapada, the words ब्रह्म &c., and not any other word; as पुरुषं हतवान् 'he has killed the man'.

(2) When the words ब्रह्म &c. are upapadas of any other verb than हन्, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be हन्; thus ब्रह्माधीतवान् 'he has read the Veda'.

(3) The क्विप् is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हन् preceded by ब्रह्म &c., and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

(4) This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense; as ब्राह्मणं हन्ति or हनिष्यति 'he kills or will kill the Brâhmana'. This sûtra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sûtra, and is an example of बहुलं use of the affix.

**बहुलं छन्दसि॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (हनः, क्विप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उपपदान्तरेपि हन्तेर्बहुलं क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. In the Chhandas, the affix क्विप् diversely comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains क्विप् in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As मातृहा सप्तमं नरकं प्रविशेत् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also पितृहा 'patricide'.

Diversely we find also मातृघातः and पितृघातः।

**सुकर्मपापमंत्रपुण्येषु कृञः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-कर्म-पाप-मन्त्र-पुण्येषु, कृञः, (क्विप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु करोतेर्भूतेः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

89. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:— सु 'well', कर्म 'action', पाप 'sin', मंत्र 'hymn' and पुण्य 'virtue'.

The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except सु, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As सुकृत् (VI. 1. 71) 'who has done well'; कर्मकृत् 'who has done all works'; पापकृत् 'who has committed sins'; मंत्रकृत् 'who has made a mantra'; पुण्यकृत् 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This sûtra also ordains a restrictive rule or niyama. Three-fold restriction is intended here: namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than these are upapadas. As, शास्त्रकृत् 'who has made Scriptures; भाष्यकृत् 'who has made a commentary'. The त् is added to the root by VI. 1. 71.

सोमे सुञः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, सुञः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमे कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word सोम, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, सोमसुत् 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual सोमसुतौ; 1st. plural सोमसुतः।

This sûtra is also for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. *i.e.* as regards the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

अग्नौ चेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, चेः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नौ कर्मण्युपपदे चिनोतेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word अग्नि, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, अग्निचित् 'one who has kept the sacred fire'; 1st. dual अग्निचितौ; 1st. plural अग्निचितः।

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

कर्मण्यग्न्याख्यायाम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अग्नि-आख्यायाम्, (कर्मणि, चेः, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे चिनोतेः कर्मण्येव कारके क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति अग्न्याख्यायाम् ॥

92. In expressing an object the affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words चेः and कर्मणि are understood in this sûtra. The Name is

expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upapada and the affix. As श्येनचित् 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; कङ्कचित् 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word आख्या indicates that these words are rudhi words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called श्येनचित्, and so on.

कर्मणीनि विक्रियः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, इनि, विक्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे विपूर्वात् क्रीणातेर्धातोरिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix इनि comes after the compound verb विक्री 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word कर्मणि in the sûtra, though its anuvritti might have been drawn from the last aphorism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent, then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As सोमविक्रयिन् 'the seller of soma plant'; रसविक्रयिन् 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in धान्यविक्रायः 'the seller of paddy'.

दृशेः क्वनिप् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशेः, क्वनिप्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

94. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As मेरुदृश्वन्, 1st. sing. मेरुदृश्वा 'who has seen the Meru'. परलोकदृश्वा 'who has seen the hereafter.'

Though the affix क्वनिप् was valid by sûtra III. 2. 75 its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

राजनि युधिकृञः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजनि, युधि-कृञः, (कर्मणि, क्वनिप्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन् शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे युध्यतेः करोतेश्च क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verbs युध 'to fight' and कृ 'to make' with a past signification when the word राजन् 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb युध्, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? It is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the णिच् affix latent. As राजयुध्वन्, 1st. sing. राजयुध्वा (VIII. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; राजकृत्वन्, 1st. sing. राजकृत्वा (VI. 1. 71.) 'who has made a king'.

**सहे च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहे, च, (युधि, कृञः, क्वनिप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सहशब्दे चोपपदे युधिकृञोर्धातोः क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verbs युध् and कृ, with a past signification, when the word सह 'with', is in composition.

The word सह, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहयुध्वन् 'who has made to fight with'; सहकृत्वन् 'who has done any thing along with another'.

**सप्तम्यां जनेर्डः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, जनेः, डः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे जनेर्डःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ड comes after the verb जन् 'to be produced', with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case.

As उपसरे जातः = उपसरजः । जन्+ड = ज्+अ (VI. 4. 143) = ज 'born of the first conception'; मन्दुरजः 'born in the stable'.

**पञ्चम्यामजातौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याम्, अजातौ, (जनेः, डः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्त उपपदे जातिवर्जिते जनेर्डःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix ड comes after the verb जन्, with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As बुद्धिजः 'born through understanding'; संस्कारजः 'born of habit'; दुःखजः 'born through pain'.

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe हस्तिनो जातः 'born of elephant'; अश्वाज्जातः 'born of horse'.

**उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (जनेः, डः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे चोपपदे जनेर्डः प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix ड comes after the verb जन् with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As प्रजाः 'people', or 'a son'; as in the sentence अथेमा मानवी प्रजाः ।

**अनौ कर्मणि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनौ, कर्मणि, (जनेः, डः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाज्जनेः कर्मण्युपपदे डःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix ड comes after the verb जन् with

a past signification, when the root takes the preposition अनु and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुमनुजा 'a girl born after the male child *i. e.* a girl having an elder brother'; स्त्र्यनुजः 'a boy born after the female child *i. e.* a boy having an elder sister'.

**अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषु, अपि, दृश्यते, (जनेः, डः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येष्वप्युपपदेषु कारकेषु जनेर्डः प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

101. The affix ड is seen to come after the verb जन् with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sûtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sûtra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As न जायते = अजः 'unborn'; द्विर्जातः = द्विजः 'twice-born'.

Thus, it is said in sûtra III. 2. 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As ब्राह्मणजो धर्मः ; क्षत्रियजं युद्धम् ।

It is declared in sûtra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix ड comes after the compound verb जन्. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as अभिजाः or परिजाः: 'born or produced all round *i. e.* hair'.

It is declared in sûtra III. 2. 100. 'When an object is in composition with the verb अनुजन् this affix is employed'. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As अनुजः 'born after *i e.* younger brother'.

The force of the word अपि 'though' is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As परितः खाता = परिखा 'a moat' (literally that which has been dug all round); आखा 'a pond'.

**निष्ठा ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (भूते) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तक्तवतू निष्ठेत्युक्तं स निष्ठासंज्ञकः प्रत्ययो भूते भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आदिकर्मणि निष्ठा वक्तव्या ॥

102. The affixes called निष्ठा come after a verbal root, employed with the sense of past time.

The affixes क्त and क्तवतु are निष्ठा (I. 1. 26). As कृ + क्त = कृतम् 'made'; कृ + क्तवतु = कृतवत्, 1st. sing. कृतवान् 'done'; so also भुक्तम् and भुक्तवान् 'eaten'.

*Vart.*—The Nishthâ affixes come when *âdi-karma* is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes *âdi-karma* see sûtra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः, प्रकृतवान् कटं देवदत्तः ।

सुयजोर्ङ्वनिप् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-यजोः, ङ्वनिप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेर्यजतेश्च ङ्वनिप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix ङ्वनिप् comes after the verbs सु 'to press out or extract juice' and यज् 'to sacrifice', with a past signification.

As सु+ङ्वनिप्=सुत्+वन् (VI. 1 71)=सुत्वन् 1st. sing. सुत्वा 'who has pressed out or extracted juice'; यज्वन्, 1st. sing. यज्वा 'who has sacrificed'. The त् is added by VI. 1. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

जीर्यतेरतृन् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीर्यतेः, अतृन्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीर्यतेरतृन् प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

104. The affix अतृन् comes after the verb जॄ 'to grow old' with the sense of past time.

As जॄ+अतृन्=जर्+अतृ (VII. 3. 84)=जरतृ, 1st, sing. जरन्, 1st. dl. जरन्तौ, 1st. pl. जरन्तः 'grown old' (VII 1. 70).

By the rule of वासरूप (III 1. 94), the Nishṭhâ affixes also come after this verb. As जीर्णः and जीर्णवान्। जॄ+क्त=जिर्+त (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1. 51)=जिर्+न (VIII. 2. 42)=जीर्ण (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 1) 'grown old'.

छन्दसि लिट् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लिट्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातोर्लिट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. In the Chhandas, the affix लिट् comes after a verb with a past signification.

As अहं सूर्यमुभयतो ददर्श 'I saw the sun from both sides'; अहं द्यावापृथिवी आततान 'I stretched the heaven and the earth'. Here the words ददर्श and आततान have the force of nishṭhâ. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sûtra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the *luṅ*, *laṅ* and *liṭ* come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (धातुसंबन्ध) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

*Liṭ* is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

लिटः कानज्वा ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटः, कानच्, वा; (छन्दसि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कानजादेशो भवति वा ॥

106. In the Chhandas the affix लिट् is optionally replaced by the affix कानच्।

As अग्निं चिक्यानः 'he consecrated the fire'; सोमं सुषुवाणः 'he pressed the *soma* juice'. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.

Why has the word *lit* been repeated in this sûtra, when its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the last sûtra? The substitute कानच् replaces not only the special लिट् of sûtra III. 2. 105, but the general लिट् which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense; so that the affix कानच् forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. तुतुजान (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 6).

**क्वसुश्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्वसुः, च, (छन्दसि, लिटः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः क्वसुरादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the Chhandas the affix क्वसु is optionally the substitute of लिट्.

As जक्षिवस् 1st. sing. जक्षिवान् 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); पपिवस् 1st. sing. पपिवान् 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sûtra III. 2. 105; अहं सूर्यमुभयतो ददर्श.

The division of this sûtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras, into which the anuvṛitti of क्वसु only runs.

**भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः ॥१०८॥ पदानि ॥ भाषायाम्, सद-वस-श्रुवः, (लिटः, क्वसुः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सद वस श्रु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य लिटो भाषायां विषये वा क्वसुरादेशो भवति ॥

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix क्वसु optionally replaces लिट् after the verbs सद्, वस् and श्रु with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिट् also comes after these verbs. As, उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम् 'Kautsa served Pâṇini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As उपासदत् 'he served'; उपासीदत् and उपससाद.

So also अनूषिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have अन्ववात्सीत्, अन्ववसत् and अनूवास.

So also उपशुश्रुवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have उपाश्रौषीत्, उपाशृणोत् and उपशुश्राव.

The affix क्वसु is employed with the force of लुङ् and लङ् also.

**उपेयिवाननाश्वाननूचानश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपेयिवान्-अनाश्वान्-अनूचानः, (च) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

109. The forms उपेयिवान्, अनाश्वान्, अनूचान् are irregularly formed.

These forms are thus evolved :—To the verb इ 'to go' with the preposition उप, the affix क्वसु is added: as उप+इ+क्वसु. The root is reduplicated: as उप+ई+इ+क्वसु. The reduplicate is here long ई by VII. 4. 69. This long ई does not coalesce with the short इ by the rules of sandhi ; for then the rule by which this ई was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment इट् contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67. and this is the irregularity. As उप+ई+इ+इट्+क्वसु. Then the root इ is replaced by य by sûtra VI. 4 81. As उप+ई+य्+इट्+क्वसु=उपेयिवस् 1st. sing. उपेयिवान्. The augment इट् is however dropped in those cases (भ) where वस् is changed into उष् ; because the insertion of इट् was itself an exceptional case of limited scope :—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it ; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that इट् was employed before वस्. Therefore in accusative plural we have उपेयुषः ; instrumental sing उपेयुषा &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga उप ; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also; thus समीयिवान्, and ईयिवान् as well.

By the anuvṛitti of the word वा read in this aphorism, we have लुङ् &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist उपागात्, Imperfect उपैत्, Perfect उपेयाय ।

The word अनाश्वान् is thus formed :—To the verb अश् 'to enjoy' we add the negative particle अन ; apply the affix क्वसु and donot insert the augment इट् ; so, we have अन+अश्+क्वसु=अनाश्वस्, 1st. sing. अनाश्वान्. In the alternative we have Aorist नाशीत्, Imperfect नाश्नात् and Perfect नाश.

The word अनूचानः is thus derived :—The affix कानच् is added in expressing the agent to the verb वच् preceded by अनु. In the alternative we have Aorist अन्ववोचत्, Imperfect अन्वब्रवीत्, Perfect अनूवाच.

## लुङ् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसतेर्लुङ् रात्रिशेषे जागरणसन्ततौ वक्तव्यः ॥

110. The affix लुङ् comes after a verb in the sense of past time.

The लुङ् forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal terminations. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sûtras.

'The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect ; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very *recently*, say, in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time *generally*, and also an action done at a

very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past time; the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events'.—Apte's Composition. As अकार्षीत् 'he did'; अहार्षीत् 'he took'.

*Vart.*—The affix लुङ् comes after the verb वस् 'to dwell', when 'end of the present night' is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, 'where did you dwell *i. e.* pass the night'? That person so asked should answer in the लुङ् and not in लङ्. As अमुत्रावात्सम् 'I dwelt there'; and not अमुत्रावसम्.

*Vart.*—The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply अमुत्रावसम्.

अनद्यतने लङ् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानाद्यतने भूतेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये लङ् वक्तव्यः ॥

111. The affix लङ् comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अनद्यतन is a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (*adyatana)*. The whole of this affix is replaced by conjugational terminations, and the affix लङ् by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अकरोत् 'he did'; अहरत् 'he took'.

Why have we explained *anadyatana* as a Bahuvrihi compound? Because when there is a doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, there the Imperfect should not be used. As अद्य ह्यो वा अभुक्ष्महि 'we ate to-day or yesterday'. In such a case the affix is लुङ्.

*Vart*:—The affix लङ् is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-known public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say:—अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Sâketa'; अरुणद् यवनः माध्यमिकान् 'the Yâvanas have besieged Mâdhyamika'.

Why do we say 'not witnessed by the speaker'? Observe उदगात् आदित्यः 'the sun arose'. Why do we say 'a popular public event'? Observe चकार कटं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has made the mat'. Why do we say 'which is the object of perception by the speaker'? Observe जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः 'Vâsudeva killed Kansa'.

अभिज्ञावचने लृट् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिज्ञा-वचने, लृट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञा स्मृतिस्तद्वचन उपपदे भूतानद्यतने लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. When a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लृट् (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अभिज्ञा means 'recolleetion'. This rule sets aside the affix लङ्. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरेषु वत्स्यामः 'rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir'.

The word वचन meaning 'signification' in the sûtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अभिज्ञा are used; as स्मरसि 'dost thou remember'; बुध्यसे 'dost thou know'; चेतयसे 'dost thou reflect'; and the like.

**न यदि ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, (अभिज्ञावचने, लृट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्द सहितेऽभिज्ञावचन उपपदे लृट्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix लृट् (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past, when the upapada donoting recollection has in connection with it the particle यत्.

This prohibits लृट् which the verb वस् obtained from the last sûtra. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरेष्ववसाम 'thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir'. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependent idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

**विभाषा साकांक्षे ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, साकांक्षे, (लृट्, अभिज्ञावचने) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञावचन उपपदे यच्छब्दसहिते केवले च विभाषा लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति साकांक्षश्चेत्प्रयोक्ता ॥

114. The affix लृट् is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle यत् or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकाङ्क्षा means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, wished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः, तत्र सक्तून्

पास्यामः or अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गच्छाम, तत्र सक्तून् पिबाम, 'do you remember Devadatta we went to Kashmir and there did drink Saktu'.

This option is allowed whether the particle यत् is or is not used. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः (or यत् कश्मीरान् गच्छाम,) यत् तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे (or यत् तत्रौदनमभुञ्ज्महि) 'Do you recollect, Devadatta how we went to Kashmir and how we ate rice there'.

In the above examples, the verb 'to go' is the sign, and the 'eating' or 'drinking', in the second sentence, is the thing really signified; the first verb is necessary as an introduction to the thought of the speaker which dwells more upon the second verb. Here the second sentence or proposition is used as completion or complement of the first proposition.

**परोक्षे लिट् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परोक्षे, लिट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्लिट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अत्यन्तापह्नवे च लिड्वक्तव्यः ॥

**115. The affix लिट् comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.**

The word परोक्ष 'unperceived' qualifies the words भूत 'past' and अनद्यतन 'non-current day' understood in this aphorism.

'Well, are not the senses of verbs *all* unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs; this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, चकार 'he did'; जहार 'he took'.

'It is evident that the लिट् (perfect) should not be used in the first person, *i. e.* when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself; for it is impossible that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As सुप्तोऽहं किल विललाप 'indeed I prated while asleep'.

*Vart* :—The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply, whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिङ्गेषु स्थितोऽसि ? नाहं कलिङ्गान् जगाम 'did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'; दक्षिणापथं प्रविष्टोऽसि ? नाहं दक्षिणापथं प्रविवेश.

**हशश्वतोर्लङ् च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह-शश्वतोः, लङ्, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लिट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे लिटि प्राप्ते हशश्वतोरुपपदयोर्लङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराल्लिट् च ॥

116. And the affix लङ् comes after a verb when the particles ह and शश्वत् are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of च 'and' is that the affix लिट् (perfect) may also be employed in similar construction. As इति हाकरोत् (imperfect), or इति ह चकार (perfect) 'Alas ! he did it'. शश्वदकरोत् or शश्वच्चकार 'again and again he did it'.

प्रश्ने चासन्नकाले ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रश्ने, च, आसन्नकाले, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लङ्, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्नकाले पृच्छ्यमाने भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लङ्लिटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

117. The affixes लङ् (imperfect) and लिट् (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sûtra also qualifies the words भूत, अनद्यतन and परोक्ष understood in this sûtra. The word प्रश्न means 'what should be asked'; and आसन्नकाल 'time close at hand' : As, some one may ask another, अगच्छत् देवदत्तः or जगाम देवदत्तः 'did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)'? अयजत् देवदत्तः or इयाज देवदत्तः 'Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed'?

Why do we say 'in asking question'? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, जगाम देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has gone'.

Why do we say 'when the past time referred to is imminently recent'? Observe भवन्तं पृच्छामि, जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः 'I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore'.

लट् स्मे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लट्, स्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मशब्द उपपदे भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb, when the particle स्म is in connection with it, (and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism This debars लिट् or the perfect tense. Thus यजति स्म युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishṭhira sacrificed'; so also नलेन स्म पुराधीयते । उर्णया स्म पराधीयते ॥

अपरोक्षे च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरोक्षे, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, स्मे, लट्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरोक्षे च भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोः स्मउपपदे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb when the particle स्म is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As एवं स्म पिता ब्रवीति 'thus said the father'; इति स्मोपाध्यायः कथयति 'thus said the preceptor'.

ननौ पृष्टप्रतिवचने ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ ननौ, पृष्ट-प्रतिवचने, (भूते, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुशब्द उपपदे प्रश्नपूर्वके प्रतिवचने भूतेऽर्थे लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix लट् is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word ननु is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvṛitti of the words '*anadyatana*' and '*paroksha*' does not extend to this sûtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debars लुङ् (the Aorist tense). As अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त ?— ननु करोमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you make the mat? O, yes, I did make it'. अवोचस्तत्र किंचिद् देवदत्त,— ननु ब्रवीमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you speak there anything? O, yes, I did speak'.

Why do we say 'in reply to an interrogation'? Observe नन्वकार्षीन् माणवकः 'certainly, Mânavaka did it'.

नन्वोर्विभाषा ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-न्वोः, विभाषा, (भूते, पृष्ट-प्रति-वचने, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नशब्दे नुशब्दे चोपपदे पृष्टप्रतिवचने विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

121. The affix लट् comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words न 'not' and नु 'what of that' are in connection with it.

As, अकार्षीः कटं देवदत्त—न करोमि भोः or नाकार्षम्;—अहं नु करोमि or अहं न्वकार्षम् 'Devadatta, did you make the mat?—No I did not;— what of that, I did'.

पुरि लुङ् चास्मे ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरि, लुङ्, च, अस्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुराशब्द उपपदे स्मशब्दवर्जिते भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे विभाषा लुङ्प्रत्ययो भवति लट् च ॥

122. Optionally the affixes लुङ् and लट् come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word पुरा is used in the sentence, provided that the word स्म is not used.

The anuvṛitti of the word *anadyatana* which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sûtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvṛitti is technically called *manduka-pluti* 'the leap of a frog' *i. e.* skipping of several sûtras and supplying a word from a previous sûtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when *lat* and *lun* are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As वसन्तीह पुरा छात्राः 'the pupils lived here formerly'. So also, Aorist, अवात्सुः पुरा छात्राः; Imperfect, अवसन्निह पुरा छात्राः ; Perfect, ऊषुरिह पुरा छात्राः ।

Why do we say 'when the word स्म is not used'? Observe यजति स्म पुरा युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishṭhira did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 *ante* exerts its influence.

वर्तमाने लट् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमाने, लट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आरब्धोऽपरिसमाप्तश्च वर्त्तमानस्तस्मिन् वर्त्तमानेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

123. The affix लट् comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word वर्तमान means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As पचति 'he is cooking'; पठति 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः 'the mountains stand'; स्रवन्ति नद्यः 'the rivers flow'.

लटः शतृशानचावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लटः, शतृ-शानचौ, अप्रथमा-समानाधिकरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लटः शतृशानचावित्येतावादेशौ भवतः अप्रथमान्तेन चेत्तस्य सामानाधिकरण्यं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ माङ्याक्रोशे ॥

124. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are substitutes of लट्, when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As पचमानं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; पचता कृतम् 'or पचमानेन कृतम् 'done by one who is cooking'. पच्+शानच् = पच्+शप्+शानच् (III. 4. 113, III. 1. 68) = पच्+अ+मुक्+आन (VII. 2. 82) = पचमान । So also पच्+शप्+शतृ= पच्+अ+अत् = पचत् ।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix? Observe देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term लट् might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As सन् ब्राह्मणः 'who is a Brâhmaṇa' = अस्ति ब्राह्मणः; so also

विद्यते ब्राह्मणः and विद्यमानो ब्राह्मणः ; जुह्वत् and जुहोति ; and अधीयानः and अधीते ।

*Vart.*—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle माङ् is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As मा पचन् and मा पचमानः 'may he not cook' ; मा जीवन् यः परावज्ञादुःखदग्धोऽपि जीवति 'cursed be he (lit. may he not live) who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the anuvṛitti of the word 'option' from sûtra 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (*vyavasthita-vibhâshâ*) and not of universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

**सम्बोधने च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च, (लटः, शतृशानचौ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बोधने च विषये लटः शतृशानचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

125. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case ; as हे पचन् or हे पचमान 'O thou who art cooking'.

**लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षण-हेत्वोः, क्रियायाः, (लटः, शतृ-शानचौ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे हेतौ चार्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोः परस्य लटः शतृशानचावादेशौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लक्षणहेत्वोःक्रियायाः गुण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तत्त्वाख्याने च ॥

126. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् and come after a verb, in expressing an attendent circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised or known *i. e.* an attribute ; हेतु means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word क्रिया. Of *lakshana*:—as, शयाना: भुञ्जते यवनाः 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. तिष्ठन्तोऽनुशासति गणकाः । Of *hetu* :—as हरिं पश्यन् मुच्यते 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution' ; अधीयानो वसति 'for the sake of study he dwells here'.

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause'? Observe पचति 'he cooks' ; पठति 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action'? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As यः कम्पते सोऽश्वत्थः 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha' ; यदुत्प्लवते तल्लघु 'whatever floats is light'; यन्निषीदति तद्गुरु 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

*Vart.*—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, योऽधीयान आस्ते स देवदत्तः 'he is Devadatta who sits studying'.

*Vart.*—This participle is also used to state a general truth: as शयाना वर्धते दूर्वा 'the Dûrvâ grass grows in a recumbent position'; आसीनं वर्धते बिसं 'a lotus stalk grows in an upright position'. The compound लक्षणहेत्वोः of the sûtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

**तौ सत् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तौ, सत्, (शतृ-शानचौ)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तौ शतृशानचौ सत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

127. These two शतृ and शानच् are called सत्.

These participial affixes get collectively this name; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14.), as well as other tenses. Thus ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन्, करिष्यन्, कुर्वाणः, करिष्यमाणः।

The word सत् occurs in sûtra II. 2. 11. &c.

**पूङ्यजोः शानन् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङ्-यजोः, शानन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङो यजेश्च धातोः शानन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शतुर्वा वचनम् ॥

128. The affix शानन् comes after the verbs पू 'to purify' and यज् 'to sacrifice'.

As पवमानः 'purifier (fire or air)'; यजमानः 'sacrificer.

It might be asked 'is the शानन् with others that follow, an affix *suo generis*, or is it merely a substitute of ल, as शतृ and शानच्? Why we ask this question is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of ल, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of ल, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of ल, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as सोमं पवमानः 'drinking Soma'; and नडमाघ्नानः? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शानन् &c. must be the substitutes of ल. The term तृन् in sûtra II 3. 69. is not the affix तृन् taught in this Chapter sûtra 135; but it is a *pratyâhâra* including several affixes. It is a *pratyâhâra* formed by taking the तृ of शतृ in sûtra 124; and न् of तृन् in 135; and thus it means all the affixes from शतृ in 134 down to तृन् in 135. Thus though शानन्, चानश् &c. are not substitutes of ल, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term तृन्.

*Vart.*—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb द्विष् takes the affix शतृ. As चोरस्य or चोरं द्विषन् 'hating the thief'.

ताच्छील्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु चानश् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ताच्छील्य-वयः-वचन-शक्तिषु, चानश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ताच्छील्यादिषु धातोश्चानश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix चानश् comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word ताच्छील्य means 'habit' or 'disposition'; वय: means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; शक्ति means 'capacity to do a thing'. As भोगं भुञ्जान: 'habituated to enjoy'; कवचं बिभ्राण: 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; शत्रुं निघ्नान: 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, कतीह मुण्डयमानाः, भूषयमानाः, कवचं पर्यस्यमानाः, शिखण्डं वहमानाः and पचमानाः।

इङ्धार्योः शत्रकृच्छ्रिणि ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्-धार्योः, शतृ, अकृच्छ्रिणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धारेश्च धात्वोः शतृप्रत्ययो भवति अकृच्छ्रिणि कर्त्तरि ॥

130. The affix शतृ comes after the verbs इङ् 'to go' and धारि 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word अकृच्छ्र means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As अधीयन् पारायणम् 'the facile reading of the Purâṇa'; धारयन्नुपनिषदम् 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root धारि is causative of धृ and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise कृच्छ्रेणाधीते 'he reads with difficulty'; कृच्छ्रेण धारयति 'he remembers with difficulty'.

द्विषोऽमित्रे ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, अमित्रे, (शतृ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमित्रे कर्तरि द्विषेर्धातोः शतृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix शतृ comes after the verb द्विष् when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word अमित्र means 'enemy'. As द्विषन् 'enemy', द्विषन्तौ 'two enemies', द्विषन्तः 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe द्वेष्टि भार्या पतिम् 'the wife hates her husband'.

सुञो यज्ञसंयोगे ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुञः, यज्ञ-संयोगे, (शतृ)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञसंयुक्तेऽभिषवे वर्तमानात्सुनोतेर्धातोः शतृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix शतृ comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.

The word यज्ञसंयोग is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (संयोग) with sacrifice. As षु+नु+शतृ (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113)=सुनु+अत् (I. 2. 4.)=सुन्वत् (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing. सुन्वन्, 1st. pl. सुन्वन्तः 'the sacrificers'; as in सर्वे सुन्वन्तः 'all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice'.

The word संयोग indicates that the principal sacrificer. *i. e.* the यजमान is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity; such as याजकाः 'the sacrificing priests'.

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have सुनोति सुराम् 'he distils liquor'.

**अर्हः प्रशंसायाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हः, प्रशंसायाम्, (शतृ)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हतेर्धातोः प्रशंसायां शतृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix शतृ comes after the verb अर्ह in expressing praise.

As अर्हन्निह भवान्विद्याम् 'thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; अर्हन्निह भवान्पूजाम् 'thou art worthy of honor in this place'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to praise'? Witness अर्हति चौरो वधम् 'the thief deserves death'.

**आ क्वेस्तच्छीलतद्धर्मतत्साधुकारिषु ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, क्वेः, तच्छील-तद्धर्म-तत्साधुकारिषु ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आ एतस्मात् क्विप्संशब्दनाद्यानित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ते वेदितव्याः ॥

134. From this sûtra as far as क्विप् in sûtra 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of आ in this sûtra is limit inclusive, and includes क्विप् also. The term तच्छील means 'the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term तद्धर्म means 'who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty'. The term तत्साधुकारि means 'who does the action expressed by the verb in an excellent way'. Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

**तृन् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृन्, (तच्छील-तद्धर्म-तत्साधुकारिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यस्तृन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तृन्विधावृत्विक्षु चानुपसर्गस्य ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नयतेः षुक् च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ त्विषेर्देवतायामकारश्चोपधाया अनिट्त्वञ्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्षदेश्च नियुक्ते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि तृच्च ॥

135. The affix तृन् comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c'.

The न् of तृन् is indicatory, and regulates the accent (VI. I. 197). As कृ+तृन्=कर्तृ, 1st sing. कर्ता. This affix denotes *habit* in the following; as, कर्ता कटान् 'who is accustomed to make mats. *Nature*:—as, मुण्डयितारः श्राविष्ठायना भवन्ति वधूमूढाम् 'the family of Srâvishtâyana shave the heads of their widows'; अन्नमपहर्तार आह्वरका भवन्ति श्राद्धे सिद्धे 'the Ahvarakas steal away food as soon as Srâddha is accomplished'; उन्नेतारस्तौल्वलायना भवन्ति पुत्रे जाते 'the Taulvalâyanas become elated on the birth of a son'. *Skill*:—as, कर्ता कटम् 'skilful maker of mats'. गन्ताऽऽखेटम् 'skilful hunter'.

*Vart*:—The simple verbs, without upasargas, take the affix तृन्, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As हु+तृन्=होतृ, 1st. sing. होता 'the *Hotri* priest'; so also पोतृ 'the *Potri* priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the upasargas'? Observe उद्गातृ 'the Udgâtri priest'; प्रतिहर्तृ 'the *Pratihartri* priest'. Here the affix is तृच्. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; *i. e.* तृन् places udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI. I. 197), while तृच् places it on the last (VI. I. 163).

*Vart*:—The augment षुक् is added when नी takes the affix तृन्; as नी+षुक्+तृन्=नेष्टृ, 1st. sing. नेष्टा 'the Neshṭri priest'.

*Vart*:—When signifying diety, the verb त्विष् takes तृन्; the letter अ is the substitute for the इ of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate इट् augment; as, त्विष्+तृन्=त्वष्टृ, 1st. sing. त्वष्टा 'Tvashtri'.

*Vart*:—The root क्षद् takes तृन्, when the word to be formed means an officer; as क्षत्तृ 'an attendant, a door-keeper'.

*Vart*:—In the Veda, the root क्षद् takes तृच्, as क्षत्तृ. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

अलंकृञ्निराकृञ्प्रजनोत्पचोत्पतोन्मदरुच्यपत्रपवृतुवृधुसहचरः इष्णुच् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलंकृञ्-निराकृञ्-प्रजन-उत्पच-उत्पत-उन्मद्-रुचि-अपत्रप-वृतु-वृधु-सह-चरः, इष्णुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु, कर्तृषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलंकृञादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अलंकृञोमण्डनार्थाद्युचः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेनेष्णुज्वक्तव्यः ॥

136. The affix इष्णुच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz.—अलंकृ 'to adorn', निराकृ 'to expel', प्रजन् 'to be born', उत्पच् 'to be ripe', उत्पत 'to fly', उन्मद् 'to be mad', रुच् 'to shine', अपत्रप् 'to be ashamed', वृत् 'to be', वृध् 'to grow', सह् 'to bear' and चर् 'to walk'.

As अलंकरिष्णुः 'decorating', निराकरिष्णुः 'repudiating', प्रजनिष्णुः 'procreative', उत्पचिष्णुः 'apt to ripen', उत्पतिष्णुः 'flying', उन्मदिष्णुः 'mad', रोचिष्णुः 'bright', अपत्रपिष्णुः 'bashful', वर्त्तिष्णुः 'revolving', वर्द्धिष्णुः 'growing', सहिष्णुः 'patient', चरिष्णुः 'moveable'.

*Vart*:—The affix इष्णुच् debares by anticipation the affix युच् of III. 2. 151, after the root अलंकृ, though it has the sense of decorating'.

**णेश्छंदसि ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ णेः, छंदसि, (तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्ताद्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas after a verb that ends in the causative णि.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As दृषदं धारयिष्णवः 'who hold the stones' ; वीरुधः पारयिष्णवः ।

**भुवश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छंदसि, तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas, after the verb भू 'to be' also.

Thus भविष्णुः 'becoming'.

The *yoga-vibhâga* or the division of this sûtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras.

The word 'also' indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sûtras ; as, भ्राजिष्णुना लोहितचन्दनेन ।

**ग्लाजिस्थश्च क्स्नुः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्ला-जि-स्थः, च, क्स्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्ला जि स्था इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्चकाराद् भुवश्च तच्छीलादिषु क्स्नुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दंशेश्छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

139. The affix क्स्नु comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' viz.—ग्ला 'to be weary', जि 'to conquer' and स्था 'to stand', as well as after भू 'to be'.

As, ग्लास्नुः 'languid'; जिष्णुः 'victorious'; स्थास्नुः 'disposed to stand firm, immoveable' ; भूष्णुः 'being'.

The anuvritti of the word *Chhandasi* does not extend to this sûtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really ग and not क, and therefore, there is

no substitution of long ई for the आ of ख्या, which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been क्तिन् (VI. 4. 66).

In the sûtra I. 1. 5. (क्ङिति च) the letter ग is also included ; for ग coming before क, is changed by the rules of *sandhi* into क and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause *guna.*

So also in sûtra VII. 2. 11 (श्र्युकः किति), the augment इट् does not come after the verb स्नु, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyâhâra उक्, when an affix having an indicatory क follows. Here also क includes ग ; and therefore in भूष्णु we have no intermediate augment इट्.

*Vart.*—In the Chhandas this affix comes after the verb दंश 'to bite ; as दंक्ष्णव: पशव: 'the beasts that bite'.

**त्रसिगृधिधृषिक्षिपेः क्नुः ॥१४०॥ पदानि॥ त्रसि-गृधि-धृषि-क्षिपेः, क्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रसादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्नुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. The affix क्नु comes after the verbs त्रस् 'to tremble', गृध् 'to be greedy', धृष् 'to be bold' and क्षिप् 'to throw' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As, त्रस्नुः 'trembling'; गृध्नुः 'greedy'; धृष्णुः 'bold' ; and क्षिप्नुः 'throwing'.

**शमित्यष्टाभ्यो घिनुण् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्-इति-अष्टाभ्यः, घिनुण्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शमादिभ्यो धातुभ्योऽष्टाभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix घिनुण् comes after the eight verbs beginning with शम् 'to be calm', in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The word इति in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with शम् and end with मद् in the list of verbs. Of the affix घिनुण् the real affix is इन्, the other letters are servile ; the घ is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatals ; उ is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45 ; and the letter ण् causes vriddhi (VII. 2. 116): which in the case of roots ending in म is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking vriddhi being मद् ।

As शमिन् 1st. sing. शमी 'calm'; likewise तमी 'desiring'; दमी 'taming'; श्रमी 'laborious'; भ्रमी 'whirling', 'moving round'; क्लमी 'fatiguing'; क्षमी 'forbearing'; प्रमादी 'mad' and उन्मादी 'mad'. Though by rule 136, the verb उन्मद् takes the affix इष्णुच्, it also takes the affix घिनुण् by the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. 1 94).

All these verbs belong to the *Divâdi* class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes ; as असिता.

संपृचानुरुधाङ्यमाङ्यसपरिसृसंसृजपरिदेविसंज्वरपरिक्षिपपरिरट परिवदपरिदहपरिमुहदुषद्विषद्रुहदुहयुजाक्रीडविविचत्यजरजभजातिचरापचरामुषाभ्याहनश्च ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संपृच-अनुरुध-आङ्यम-आङ्यस-परिसृ-संसृज-परिदेवि-संज्वर-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परिवद्-परिदह-परिमुह-दुष-द्विष-द्रुह-दुह-युज-आक्रीड - विविच -त्यज-रज-भज-अतिचर-अपचर-आमुष-अभ्याहनः, च, (तच्छीलादिषु, घिनुण्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्पृचादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix घिनुण् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz :— सम्पृच्, अनुरुध्, आयम्, आयस्, परिसृ, संसृज्, परिदेव, संज्वर, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवद्, परिदह्, परिमुह्, दुष्, द्विष्, द्रुह्, दुह्, युज्, आक्रीड्, विविच्, त्यज्, रज्, भज्, अतिचर्, अपचर्, आमुष् and अभ्याहन्.

The root संपृच् is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhâdi class, and not as belonging to Adâdi, because the vikaraṇa is elided in the latter. The root परिदेवि belongs to Bhvâdi class, the simple verb being देवृ 'to sport'. The verb क्षिप् 'to throw' is common both to Tudâdi and Divâdi, and both are taken here. युज् 'to concentrate' is Divâdi, and युज् 'to join' is Rudhâdi ; both are meant here. The verb रज् 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sûtra, irregularly.

Thus संपृच्+घिनुण्=संपर्क+इन् (VII. 2. 52)=सम्पर्किन् 1st. sing. सम्पर्की 'mixture'; similarly, अनुरोधी 'compliant'; आयामी 'one who restrains'; आयासी 'one who exerts'; परिसारी 'that which flows round'; संसर्गी 'united'; परिदेवी 'lamenting'; संज्वारी 'greatly heating'; परिक्षेपी 'moving about'; परिराटी 'crying aloud'; परिवादी 'reviling'; परिदाही 'burning'; परिमोही 'beguiling'; दोषी 'guilty'; द्वेषी 'hating'; द्रोही 'quarrelling'; दोही 'milking'; योगी 'uniting or concentrating'; आक्रीडी 'playing'; विवेकी 'discriminating'; त्यागी 'renouncing'; रागी 'yearning after'; भागी 'sharing'; अतिचारी 'transgressing'; अपचारी 'offending'; आमोषी 'a thief'; अभ्याघाती 'attacking'. (VII. 3. 52 and 54).

The indicatory घ of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

वौ कषलसकत्थस्रम्भः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वौ, कष-लस-कत्थ-स्रम्भः (घिनुण्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष लस कत्थ स्रम्भ एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो विशब्दउपपदे घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix घिनुण् comes after the verbs कष् 'to injure', लस् 'to embrace and sport', कत्थ 'to praise' and स्रम्भ 'to believe', when these are in composition with the preposition वि।

As विकाषी 'injuring; विलासी 'sportive, a sensualist'; विकत्थी 'vaunting'; and विस्रम्भी 'confiding'.

**अपे च लषः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, च, लषः, (घिनुण्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लष कान्तौ, अस्माद्धातोरपउपपदे चकाराद्वौ च घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix घिनुण् comes after the verb लष 'to wish' when compounded with the preposition अप and वि.

As अपलाषी 'thirsty'; विलाषी. The term वि is to be read into this sûtra by the force of the word 'and'.

**प्रे लपसृद्रुमथवदवसः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लप-सृ-द्रु-मथ-वद-वसः, (घिनुण्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उपपदे लपादिभ्यो घिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. The affix घिनुण् comes after the verbs लप्, सृ, द्रु, मथ, वद् and वस when compounded with the preposition प्र.

As प्रलापी 'prattling'; प्रसारी 'extending around'; प्रद्रावी 'running away, fugitive'; प्रमाथी 'tormenting'; प्रवादी 'reporting'; प्रवासी 'a traveller'.

The root वस् here is the Bhvâdi वस् meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adâdi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikaraṇa is elided.

**निन्दहिंसक्लिशखादविनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिव्याभाषासूयो वुञ् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निन्द-हिंस-क्लिश-खाद-विनाश-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परिवादि-व्याभाष-असूयः, वुञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निन्दादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix वुञ् is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—निन्द्, हिन्स्, क्लिश्, खाद्, विनाश्, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवादि, व्यभाष् and असूय।

In this sûtra the whole phrase ending with असूय has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As निन्द्+वुञ्=निन्दकः (VII. 1. 1) 'blaming'; so also हिंसकः 'injuring'; क्लेशकः 'tormenting or troublesome'; खादकः 'eating'; विनाशकः 'destroying'; परिक्षेपकः 'surrounding'; परिराटकः 'who cries aloud'; परिवादकः 'a plaintiff'; व्याभाषकः 'detracting'; and असूयकः 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix ण्वुल taught in III. 1. 133, as by adding वुञ्; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhâsha:—

"The rule of III. 1. 94 by which an *apavâda*-affix which is not uniform with an *utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with *apavâda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit' *i. e.* with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177". Therefore the affixes तृच् &c, are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'.

देविक्रुशोश्चोपसर्गे ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवि-क्रुशोः, च, उपसर्गे, (वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवयतेः क्रुशेश्चोपसर्गे उपपदे वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

147. The affix वुञ् comes after the verbs देवि 'to lament' and क्रुश् 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आदेवकः 'one who sports or laments'; आक्रोशकः 'vociferous, a reviler'; परिदेवकः 'one who laments'; परिक्रोशकः 'a reviler'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with an *upasarga*'? Observe देवयिता and क्रोष्टा formed by तृन् (III. 2. 135).

चलनशब्दार्थादकर्मकाद् युच् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलन-शब्दार्थात्, अकर्मकाद्, युच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलनार्थेभ्यः शब्दार्थेभ्यश्चाकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु युच्प्रत्ययो भवति।

148. The affix युच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. after intransitive verbs denoting 'motion' or 'sound'.

As, चल्+युच् = चलनः 'moving' (VII. 1. 1); चोपनः 'creeping'; शब्दनः 'sounding'; रवणः 'roaring'.

Why do we say 'intransitive'? Observe पठिता विद्याम्.

अनुदात्तेतश्च हलादेः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तेतः, च, हलादेः, (युच्, अकर्मकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तेतो धातुः हलादिरकर्मकस्ततश्च युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. The affix युच् comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudâttet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicatory.

As वर्त्तनः 'being'; वर्द्धनः 'growing'.

Why do we say 'Anudâttet'? Observe भविता.

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe एधिता, which though Atmanepadi, takes तृन्.

Why have we used the term आदि 'beginning' in the sûtra? Observe जुगुप्सनः 'censuring'; मीमांसनः 'an investigator. For without the word आदि, the rule would have stood thus:—अनुदात्तेतश्च हलः which by I. 1. 72. would mean 'the affix युच् comes after the verbs which end with a consonant'; so that even after एध् we shall have युच्; and there would be no युच् after जुगुप्स which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as वसिता वस्त्रं।

जुचङ्क्रम्यदन्द्रम्यसृगृधिज्वलशुचलषपतपदः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥
जु-चङ्क्रम्य-दन्द्रम्य-सृ-गृधि-ज्वल-शुच-लष-पत-पदः, (युच्, तच्छीलादिषु)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जु प्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

150. The affix युच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', viz :—जु, चंक्रम्य, दन्द्रम्य, सृ, गृध, ज्वल, शुच, लष, पत and पद.

The verb जु is not to be found in the Dhâtupâtha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a *sautra dhâtu*. It means 'to go', 'to be quick'. As जु+युच्=जो+अन (VII. 1. 1 and VII. 3. 84)=जवनः (VI. I. 78, II. 3. 46) 'a courser, a swift horse'. चंक्रम्य+युच्=चंक्रम्+अन् (II. 4. 74)=चंक्रमनः 'moving about'; so also दंद्रमणः 'wandering'; सरणः 'flowing'; गर्द्धनः 'greedy'; ज्वलनः burning'; शोचनः 'grieving'; लषणः 'desiring'; पतनः 'falling'; पदनः 'moving'.

The enumeration of the word पद in the above, indicates that this sû tra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sûtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as पद् is a चलनार्थ verb. Others say that the inclusion of पद् in this aphorism indicates the existence of the *paribhâshâ* already given under sûtra III. 2. 146 *i. e.* the rule of III. 1. 94 has no concern with affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'. The affix इष्णुच् which by III. 2. 136 is added to अलंकृञ्, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of तृन् to अलंकृञ् (III. 2. 135), but also the addition of ण्वुल् to the same. If a *tâchchhilika apavâda* were to supersede only an *atâchchhilika utsarga*, it would have been superfluous for Pâṇini to teach in this sûtra the addition of युच् to पद्, because in that case the addition of उकञ् to पद् by III. 2. 154 would not have debarred the addition of युच् to पद् by III. 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of *jñâpana*, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The *jñâpaka* is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as, गन्ता खेटं विकत्थनः।

क्रुधमण्डार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-मण्ड-अर्थेभ्यः, च, (युच्)।

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुध कोपे, मण्ड भूषायाम्, इत्येतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. And after the verbs having the sense of क्रुध् 'to be angry' and मण्ड 'to adorn', the affix युच् is employed.

As क्रोधनः 'wrathful'; रोषणः 'irascible'; मण्डनः 'adorning'; भूषणः 'ornament', But not so after the verb अलंकृ to which sûtra III. 2. 136 applies.

न यः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यः, (युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारान्ताद्धातोर्युच् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

152. The affix युच् is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter य.

This debars III. 2. 149. As क्नूयिता 'making creaking sound'; क्ष्मायिता 'trembling'. In these cases the affix तृन् is employed (III. 2. 135).

सूददीपदीक्षश्च ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूद-दीप-दीक्षः, च, (युच्, न)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूददीपदीक्ष इत्येतेभ्यश्च युच्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

153. The affix युच् does not come after the verbs सूद् 'to strike', दीप् 'to shine' and दीक्ष् 'to initiate'.

These three verbs are *anudâttet*, and by sûtra III. 2. 149, would have taken युच्. The present sûtra prohibits that. Therefore they take तृन्. As, सूदितृ 1st. sing सूदिता 'one who strikes'; दीपितृ 'one who shines'; दीक्षितृ 'one who initiates'.

Now, it might be objected—"We find that sûtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र after दीप्; this apavâda rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix युच् is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the Paribhâshâ given under sûtra 146 and 150 will prevent that." This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned Paribhâshâ is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as कम्रा युवतिः and कमना युवतिः 'a young girl' which are both valid forms derived by adding र and युच् to the verb कम्. So also कम्प्रा and कम्पना शाखा 'a shaking branch'.

If we prohibit युच् after the root सूद्, how do we get the forms मधुसूदन and रिपुसूदन? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an *anitya* rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sûtra separated from the last (yogavibhâga), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words मधुसूदन &c belong to the नन्द्यादि class (III. 1. 134) taking the affix ल्यु or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix ल्युट्.

लषपतपदस्थाभूवृषहनकमगमशृभ्य उकञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लष-पत-पद-स्था-भू-वृष-हन-कम-गम-शृभ्यः, उकञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उकञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix उकञ् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—लष्, पत्, पद्, स्था, भू, वृष्, हन्, कम्, गम् and शॄ।

As अपलाषुकं वृषलसंगतं, प्रपातुका गर्भा भवन्ति, उपपादुकंसत्वं, उपस्थायुका एनं पशवो भवन्ति, प्रभावुकमन्नं भवति, प्रवर्षुकाः पर्जन्याः, आघातुकं कापालिकस्य शूलम्, कामुका एनं स्त्रियो भवन्ति, आगामुकं वाराणसीं रक्ष आहुः, किंशारुकं तीक्ष्णमाहुः। The य is added after स्था in उपस्थायुक by VII. 3. 33. The हन् is changed into घात् by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

जल्पभिक्षकुट्टलुण्टवृङः षाकन् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जल्प-भिक्ष-कुट्ट-लुण्ट-वृङः, षाकन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जल्पादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु षाकन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix षाकन् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c', after the following verbs:—जल्प्, भिक्ष्, कुट्ट्, लुण्ठ् and वृ।

The ष is indicatory showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix ङीष् *i. e.* long ई (IV. 1. 41). As जल्पाक: 'talkative'; भिक्षाक: 'a beggar'; कुट्टाक: 'who or what cuts'; लुण्टाक: 'a thief or robber'; वराक: 'low, miserable'. In the feminine जल्पाकी &c..

**प्रजोरिनिः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजोः, इनिः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वाज्जवतेस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix इनि comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit etc'. after the verb प्रजु 'to hasten forward'.

As प्रजविन्, 1st. sing. प्रजवी 'an express, courier', 1st. dual प्रजविनौ &c.

**जिदृक्षिविश्रीण्वमाव्यथाभ्यमपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥**
**जि-दृ-क्षि-विश्रि-इण्-वम-अव्यथ-अभ्यम-परिभू-प्रसूभ्यः, च,(इनिः, तच्छी०)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जिप्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्य इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

157. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs जि 'to conquer', दृ 'to respect', क्षि 'to waste, to dwell, to go', विश्रि 'to shelter', इ 'to go', वम् 'to vomit', अव्यथ 'not to give pain', अभ्यम 'to injure', परिभू 'to humiliate' and प्रसू 'to beget'.

As जयिन् 1st. sing. जयी 'cohquering';" similarly, दरी 'respecting'; क्षयी 'wasting'; विश्रयी 'wasting'; अत्ययी 'exceeding'; वमी 'vomiting'; अव्यथी 'free from pain'; अभ्यमी 'not injuring'; परिभवी 'humiliating' and प्रसवी 'procreating'.

**स्पृहिगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धाभ्य आलुच् ॥ १५८॥ पदानि ॥**
**स्पृहि-गृहि-पति-दयि-निद्रा-तन्द्रा-श्रद्धाभ्यः, आलुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृहिगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धा एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु आलुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आलुचि शीङो ग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

158. The affix आलुच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the following words:—स्पृह 'to desire', गृह 'to seize', पत 'to go', दय 'to give, to go, to protect', निद्रा 'to sleep', तन्द्रा 'to be tired' and श्रद्धा 'to venerate'.

The word निद्रा is formed by adding the preposition नि to the verb द्रा 'to go crookedly'; so also तन्द्रा is formed by adding तद् to द्रा, and then irregularly changing the द् into न्. The term श्रद्धा is formed by adding श्रत् to the verb डुधाञ् 'to hold'. The first three verbs belong to Churâdi class and take णिच्.

As, स्पृहयालु: 'disposed to be desirous of'; गृहयालु: 'disposed to catch hold of or seize'; पतयालु: 'tending or prone to fall'; दयालु: 'compassionate'; निद्रालु: 'disposed to sleep'; तन्द्रालु: 'slothful'; श्रद्धालु: 'full of faith'. See VI. 4. 55 for adding अय।

*Vart* :—The affix आलुच् comes also after the root शीङ् 'to lie down'; as शयालुः 'disposed to lie down'.

**दाधेट्सिशदसदो रुः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दा-धेट्-सि-शद्-सदः, रुः॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दा धेट् सि शद सद इत्येतेभ्यो रुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix रु comes after the verbs दा 'to give', धेट् 'to suck', सि 'to bind', शद 'to fall' and सद 'to sit'.

As, दारुः 'a munificent man'; धारुर्वत्सो मातरम् 'a sucking child of the mother'. The genitive case is here prohibited by II. 3. 69, the रु being taken as equivalent to उ. As सेरुः 'binding'; शद्रुः 'falling'; and सद्रुः 'resting'.

**सृघस्यदः क्मरच् ॥१६०॥ पदानि ॥ सृ-घसि-अदः, क्मरच्,(तच्छी०)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सृ घसि अद इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्मरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. The affix क्मरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes after the verbs सृ 'to flow', घसि 'to eat' and अद 'to eat'.

As सृमरः 'going, a kind of deer'; घस्मरः 'gluttonous'; अद्मरः 'voracious'.

**भञ्जभासमिदो घुरच् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्ज-भास-मिदः, घुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्ज भास मिद इत्येतेभ्यो घुरच्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

161. The affix घुरच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs भञ्ज् 'to break', भास् 'to shine', and मिद 'to be fat'.

As भंज्+घुरच्=भंग्+उर (VII. 3. 52)=भंगुरः 'brittle'; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicatory घ. So also मेदुरः पशुः 'a fat beast'; भासुरं ज्योतिः 'splendid light'.

After the verb भञ्ज् this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

**विदिभिदिच्छिदेः कुरच् ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदि-भिदि-छिदेः, कुरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विदादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कुरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ध्यायेः सम्प्रसारणं कुरच्च वक्तव्यः ॥

162. The affix कुरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs विद् 'to know', भिद् 'to divide' and छिद् 'to pierce'.

As विदुरः पण्डितः 'a knowing Pandit'; भिदुरं काष्ठम् 'a splitting or fragile wood'; छिदुरा रज्जुः 'a cutting or breaking rope'. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs भिद and छिद.

*Vart* :—The affix कुरच् comes after the verb व्यध 'to kill'; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as विधुर: ।

**इण्नश्जिसर्त्तिभ्यः क्वरप् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण्-नश्-जि-सर्त्तिभ्यः, क्वरप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इण् नश् जि सर्ति इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्वरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

163. The affix क्वरप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs इ 'to go', नश् 'to destroy', जि 'to conquer', and सृ 'to flow'.

The प् is indicatory in order to introduce the augment तुक् between the verb and the affix (VI. 1. 71). Thus इ + क्वरप् = इ + त् + वर = इत्वर:, fem. इत्वरी 'a traveller'; नश्वर:, fem. नश्वरी 'transitory'; जित्वर:, fem. जित्वरी 'victorious'; सृत्वर: fem. सृत्वरी 'going, a river'.

Though the affix begins with a letter of वल् *pratyâhâra*, and ought to have taken the intermediate इट् (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

**गत्वरश्च ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्वरः, च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्वर इति निपात्यते, गमेरनुनासिकलोपः क्वरप्प्रत्ययश्च ॥

164. And the word गत्वर is irregularly formed.

The word गत्वर is formed by eliding the म् of गम् and adding the affix क्वरप्. As गत्वर:, fem. गत्वरी 'locomotive, transient'.

**जागरूकः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जागुः, ऊकः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जागर्तेरूकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

165. The affix ऊक comes after the verb जागृ 'to be awake' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit'.

As जागरूक: 'wakeful'.

**यजजपदशां यङः ॥१६६॥ पदानि ॥ यज-जप-दशाम्, यङः (तच्छीलादिषु, ऊकः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादीनां यङन्तानामूकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

166. The affix ऊक comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs यज्, जप् and दश् when they end in the affix यङ्.

The intensives of these verbs take ऊक. As यायजूक: 'a performer of frequent sacrifices'; जंजपूक: 'a mutterer of prayers repeatedly; दन्दशूक: 'a snake (what bites frequently)'.

**नमिकम्पिस्म्यजसकमहिंसदीपो रः ॥१६७॥ पदानि ॥ नमि-कम्पि-स्मि-अजस-कम-हिंस-दीपः, रः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नम्रादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तृषु रःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix र comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after the verbs नम 'to bow', कम्प् 'to shake', स्मि 'to smile', अजस् 'not to cease', कम 'to desire', हिन्स 'to injure', and दीप 'to shine'.

Thus, नम्रं काष्ठं 'soft wood'; कम्प्रा शाखा 'shaking branch'; स्मेरं मुखं 'smiling face'; अजस्रं जुहोति 'he sacrifices perpetually'; कम्रा युवती 'a beautiful maiden'; हिंस्रं रक्षः 'the injuring Râkshas'; दीप्रं काष्ठं 'brilliant wood'.

The word अजस्र is an adverb, and is derived from the root जस् 'to set free', with the negative particle अ, and the affix र; as अ+जस्+र=अजस्रं ।

**सनाशंसभिक्ष उः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन-आशंस-भिक्षः, उः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्नन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आशंसेर्भिक्षेश्च तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तृषु उःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix उ comes after roots that have taken the affix सन्, and after the verbs आशंस् 'to wish' and भिक्ष् 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term सन् in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix सन्, and not the verb, सन् because the verb सन् is never seen with this affix.

As, चिकीर्षुः 'desirous of doing'; जिहीर्षुः desirous of taking'; आशंसुः 'desirous'; भिक्षुः 'a beggar'.

The verb आशंस् with the upasarga आ is the verb शंसि 'to desire' and not the verb शंसि 'to praise'.

**विन्दुरिच्छुः ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विन्दुः, इच्छुः, (तच्छी० ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विदेर्नुमागम इषेश्छत्वमुकारश्च प्रत्ययो निपात्यते तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तृषु ॥

169. The words विन्दु and इच्छु are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix उ, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb विदि we add the augment नुम् and then the affix उ; as, विद्+नुम्+उ=विन्दुः (I. 1. 47)=वेदनशीलः 'intelligent'; so of इष् 'to wish', the ष is replaced by छ, and we have इच्छुः=एषणशीलः 'desirous'.

**क्याच्छन्दसि ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यात्, छन्दसि, (तच्छील०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यप्रत्ययान्ताद्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तृषु उकारप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix उ comes in the Chhandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix क्य in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term क्य includes the three affixes क्यच्, क्यङ् and क्यष् (see sûtras III. 1. 8, 11, 13, &c). As मित्रयुः, संस्वेदयुः, सुम्नयुः (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 4).

In the modern Sanskrit तृन् will be employed. As निर्मायिता. By sûtra VII. 4. 33, the long ई replaces the final अ, when क्यच् follows; as पुत्र+क्यच्= पुत्री+य=पुत्रीय. Why then in the case of मित्रयुः there is not the substitution of long ई for the अ of मित्र? Because the rule VII. 4. 33 is set aside by VII. 4. 35 which declares that in the Chhandas the long ई is not substituted for the अ।

आदृगमहनजनः किकिनौ लिट् च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्-ऋ-गम-हन-जनः, कि-किनौ, लिट्, च, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य ऋवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च गम हन जन इत्येतेभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु किकिनौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, लिड्वच्च तौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ किकिनावुत्सर्गश्छन्दसि सदादिभ्यो दर्शनात् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां धाञ्कृसृजनिगमिनमिभ्यः किकिनौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सहिवहिचलिपतिभ्यो यङन्तेभ्यः किकिनौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes कि and किन् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' come after the verbs that end in long आ, or short or long ऋ, and after the verbs गम् 'to go', हन् 'to kill', and जन् 'to be produced', and these affixes operate like लिट् causing reduplication of the root.

The ् after आ is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been ऋ, then by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) short ऋ would only be included and not long ॠ. But the present rule is applicable to long ॠ as well.

Thus पा+कि =पपिः 'drinking'; as पपिः सोमं 'drinking the soma-juice'; ददिर्गाः 'giving cows' (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4). मित्रावरुणौ ततुरिः (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). दूरे ह्यध्वा जगुरिः (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). गम्+किन् = जग्मिः 'being in constant motion, wind'; जग्मियुवा (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); हन्+किन् = जघ्निः 'killing, a weapon offensive'; जघ्निर्वृत्रम् (Rig. Ved. IX. 61. 2); जन्+किन्= जज्ञिः as जज्ञिर्बीजम् (T. S. VII. 5. 20. 1).

The letter क् in these affixes is indicatory. It might be said 'it is superfluous to make these affixes कित्, because these being treated like लिट् will be कित् by rule I. 2. 5'. True, they would be कित् by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when *lit* follows, *guna* is the substitute of the verb ऋच्छ and of those that end in the long ॠ) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused *guna*. It is to prevent this *guna* of the letter ॠ that we have annexed an indicatory क to these affixes.

*Vart*:—The affixes कि and किन् are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the sûtra, as we see them in सद् &c.; as सेदिः (Yaj. Ved. XII. 105); नेमिः (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

*Vart*:—The affixes कि and किन् come after the roots धाञ्, कृञ्, सृ, जनि,

गमि, and नमि in the secular literature also; as, दधिः, चक्रिः, सस्निः, जज्ञिः, जग्मिः, नेमिः ।

*Vart*:—The affixes कि and किन् come after the Intensive (यङन्त) roots of सह्, वह्, चल्, and पत्. As, सासहिः, वावहिः, चाचलिः, पापतिः (VII. 4. 83).

**स्वपितृषोर्नजिङ् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि-तृषोः, नजिङ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेस्तृषेश्च तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु नजिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धृषेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

172. The affix नजिङ् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs स्वप् 'to sleep' and तृष 'to be thirsty'.

As स्वप्+नजिङ्=स्वप्नज् 1st. sing. स्वप्नक् 'sleeping, drowsy'; तृष्णज् 1st. sing. तृष्णक् 'covetous, thirsty'.

*Vart*:—So also after the verb धृष् 'to insult, be bold'; as, धृष्णज् 1st. sing. धृष्णक् 'bold, impudent'.

**शॄवन्द्योरारुः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शॄ-वन्द्योः, आरुः, (तच्छी०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शॄ हिंसायाम् वन्दि अभिवादनस्तुत्योः एताभ्यां तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृष्वारुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

173. The affix आरु comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शॄ 'to injure' and वन्द 'to praise', 'to salute'.

As शरारुः 'noxious, a mischievous animal'; वन्दारुः 'praising, a bard'.

**भियः क्रुक्लुकनौ ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, क्रु-क्लुकनौ, (तच्छी०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ञिभी भये अस्माद्धातोस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्रुक्लुकनौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रुकनपि वक्तव्यः ॥

174. The affixes क्रु and क्लुकन come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb भी 'to fear'.

As, भीरुः 'fearful, timid'; भीलुकः 'timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal'.

*Vart*:—The affix क्रुकन् should also be stated; as भीरुकः ।

**स्थेशभासपिसकसो वरच् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-ईश-भास-पिस-कसः, वरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था ईश भास पिस कस एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix वरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs स्था 'to stand' ईश 'to rule', भास् 'to shine', पिस् 'to go' and कस 'to go'.

As स्थावरः 'immoveable'; ईश्वरः 'ruler, God'; पेस्वरः 'going, destructive'; विकस्वरः 'opening, expanding'.

**यश्च यङः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, च, यङः, (तच्छीलादिषु, वरच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ या प्रापणे अस्माद्यङन्तात्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

176. The affix वरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' comes after the verb या when it ends with the affix यङ्.

With the affix यङ्, the intensives of verbs are formed; as यायावरः 'a vagrant, an ascetic'. See sûtra I. 1. 58.

भ्राजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपॄजुग्रावस्तुवः क्विप् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्राज-भास-धुर्वि-द्युत्-ऊर्जि-पॄ-जु-ग्रावस्तुवः, क्विप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

177. The affix क्विप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs भ्राज् 'to shine' भास 'to shine', धुर्व 'to injure', द्युत् 'to shine', ऊर्ज 'to be strong', पॄ 'to fill', जु 'to move rapidly' and स्तु 'to praise', when it is preceded by the word ग्रावन् 'a stone'.

Thus, विभ्राज् 1st. sing. विभ्राट् 'splendid'; भास् 1st. sing. भाः 'light'; धुर्व् + क्विप् = धुर् (VI. 4. 21), 1st sing. धूः 'who injures'; विद्युत् 'lightening'; ऊर्ज 1st. sing. ऊर्क् 'strength'; पुर् 1st. sing. पूः 'what fills'; जूः 'swift'. In the case of जु, a long vowel is the substitute of जु; ग्रावस्तुत् (VI. 1. 71) 'a stone-worshipper'. Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix क्विप् would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that वाऽसरूपविधि does not apply in *tâchchhilika* affixes.

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते, (तच्छीलादिषु, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्विप्प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्विब्वचिप्रच्छ्यायतस्तुकटप्रुजुश्रीणां दीर्घोऽसम्प्रसारणं च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्युतिगमिजुहोतीनां द्वे च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जुहोतेर्दीर्घश्च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दॄभय ह्रस्वस्य ह्रस्वश्च द्वे च ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ध्यायतेः संप्रसारणं च ॥

178. The affix क्विप् is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As युज्, 1st. sing. युक् 'joining'; छिद् 'piercing'; भिद् 'dividing'.

By using the words 'is seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with क्विप्. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is *samprasârana* of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not.

*Vart*:—When क्विप् follows, the long vowel is the substitute of वच् 'to speak', प्रच्छ् 'to ask', आयतस्तु 'to praise long', कटप्रु 'to move through a mat', जु 'to move rapidly', and श्री 'to serve', and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI. 1. 16).

As, वाक् 'the voice'; प्रच्छ्+क्विप्=प्रश्+क्विप् (VI. 1. 10)=प्रष्+क्विप् (VIII. 2. 36)=प्राट् (VIII. 4 56) 'who asks'; आयतस्तूः 'who praises long'; कटप्रूः 'a worm'; जूः 'swift'; श्रीः 'the goddess Lakshmi'.

The word जु which was mentioned in the last sûtra is redundant here.

*Vart*:—There is reduplication of the verbs द्युत् 'to shine', गम् 'to go' and हु 'to invoke', when क्विप् follows. As, दिद्युत् 'shining'; जगत् 'going, the world'.

*Vart*:—There is lengthening also of the vowel of जुहुः as जुहूः 'a crescent-shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire.,

*Vart*:—The root दृ 'to tear' is shortened also; as दृदृत् 'tearing'.

*Vart*:—The verb ध्या 'to think' has samprasârana; as धीः 'thinking'.

भुवः संज्ञान्तरयोः ॥१७९॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, संज्ञा-अन्तरयोः, (क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः संज्ञायामन्तरे च गम्यमाने क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

179. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, विभूः 'a person called Vibhû'; प्रतिभूः 'a surety *i. e.* he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor'.

विप्रसंभ्यो ड्वसंज्ञायाम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-प्र-संभ्यो, डु, असंज्ञायाम्, (भुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि प्र सम् इत्येवं पूर्वाद्भवतेर्धातोः डुप्रत्ययो भवति न चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ डुप्रकरणे मितद्र्वादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

180. The affix डु comes after the verb भू when it is preceded by the upasargas वि, प्र and सम् provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As विभुः 'all pervading'; प्रभुः 'lord'; संभुः 'Creator'.

Why do we say 'when it is not a proper name? Observe विभूः 'a person called Vibhû'.

*Vart*:—The words मितद्रु &c, also are formed by this affix. As मितद्रुः 'the sea'; शंभुः 'causing happiness'.

Why have we applied डु and not क्विप् to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes: (1) To prevent the rules relating to *dhâtus* from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of तुक् augment. Thus the 1st. dual of मितद्रु is मितद्रू, 1st. pl. is मितद्रवः। Here there is no substitution of उवङ् which the rule VI. 4. 77 required, if द्रु had retained its *dhâtu* characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI. 1. 175

does not apply to Instrumental sing. मितद्र्वा &c, (2.) We have no न् which rule VI. 1. 71 required. मितं द्रवति=मितद्रुः।

**धः कर्मणि ष्ट्रन् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धः, कर्मणि, ष्ट्रन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ धयतेर्धातेश्च कर्मणि कारके ष्ट्रन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

181. The affix ष्ट्रन् comes, in denoting the object, after the verb धा 'to feed'.

The indicatory ष denotes that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (ई) affix. As धात्री 'a nurse whom the children suck (*dhayanti*)'; and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (*dadhâti*) all medicinal properties'.

**दाम्नीशसयुयुजस्तुतुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे ॥ १८२॥ पदानि॥ दाप्-नी-शस्-यु-युज-स्तु-तुद्-सि-सिच्-मिह्-पत्-दश्-नहः, करणे,(ष्ट्रन्)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दाप् नी शस यु युज स्तु तुद सि सिच मिह पत दश नह एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारके ष्ट्रन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

182. The affix ष्ट्रन्, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs दाप 'to cut', नी 'to lead', शस 'to hurt', यु 'to join', युज् 'to join', स्तु 'to praise', तुद 'to inflict pain', सि 'to bind', सिच् 'to sprinkle', मिह 'to urine', पत् 'to fall', दश 'to bite' and नह 'to bind'.

As दात्र, 1st. sing. neuter दात्रम् 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts); नेत्र 1st. sing. नेत्रम् 'eye'; शस्त्रं (VII. 2. 9) 'a weapon'; योत्रं 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; योक्त्रम् 'the tie of yoke'; स्तोत्रं 'a penegyric'; तोत्रं 'a goad', सेत्रं 'a ligament'; सेक्त्रं 'a sprinkling vessel'; मेढ्रम् 'the penis'; पत्रम् 'a vehicle'; दंष्ट्रा 'a large tooth'.

The word दंष्ट्रा belongs to the *Ajâdi* class and hence forms its feminine in टाप्(आ) and not in ई (IV. 1. 4).

The root दंश is read in the aphorism without its nasal *i e.* as दश्. This indicates by implication that दश् loses its nasal before some affixes such as ल्युट्; thus we have दशनम् 'tooth'

And lastly नह्+ष्ट्रन्=नध्र fem. नध्री (VIII. 2. 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

**हलसूकरयोः पुवः ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सूकरयोः, पुवः,(ष्ट्रन्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूञ् पूङ् पवने, अस्माद्धातोः करणे कारके ष्ट्रन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्चेत् करणं हलसूकरयोरवयवो भवति ॥

183. The affix ष्ट्रन् is employed after the verb पू with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb पू includes both पूङ् and पूञ्; as पोत्रम् 'a plough-share'; पोत्रम् 'the snout of a hog'.

अर्तिलूधूसूखनसहचर इत्रः ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्ति-लू-धू-सू-खन-सह-चरः, इत्रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्ति लू धू सू खन सह चर एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

184. The affix इत्र comes after the verbs ऋ 'to go', लू 'to cut', धू 'to shake', सू 'to bring forth', खन् 'to dig', सह् 'to bear', and चर 'to go' with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अरित्रं 'a rudder'; लवित्रं 'a sickle'; धवित्रं 'a fan'; सवित्रं 'cause of production'; खनित्रं 'a spade'; सहित्रं 'patience'; चरित्रं 'an instituted observance or a narrative'.

पुवः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुवः, संज्ञायाम्, (इत्रः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवतेर्धातोः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

185. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative, and not descriptive.

The verb पू includes two verbs पूङ् and पूञ् both meaning 'to purify', but belonging to two different conjugations; as पवित्रं an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means 'two blades of *Kusa* grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee'. It also means 'the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.

कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च, ऋषि-देवतयोः, (इत्रः, पुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुवः करणे कर्तरि च इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति, ऋषिदेवतयोर्यथासंख्यं संबन्धः ॥

186. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' in the sense of 'the agent or the instrument' when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a diety.

That is to say, when applied to a *Rishi* the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a *Devatá* the force is that of an agent. As, पवित्रोऽयमृषिः 'this sage is sacred' (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified); अग्निः पवित्रं स मा पुनातु 'the God Agni is sacred' (one that purifies), 'let him purify me'. So also, वायुः सोमः सूर्य इन्द्रः पवित्रं ते मा पुनन्तु ।

ञीतः क्तः ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ञि-इतः, क्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ञीतो धातोर्वर्तमानेऽर्थे क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

187. The verbal roots, marked with an indicatory ञि, take the affix क्त, in denoting the present time.

The *Nishthâ* affix क्त, as a general rule, is a past participial affix and denotes past time ; and is so ordained by rule III 2. 102. The present sûtra thus makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicatory ञि in the *Dhâtupâtha*; as ञिमिदा 'to be affectionately inclined'; मिन्नः (मिद्+क्त = मिद्+त = मिन्+न (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So ञिक्ष्विदा—क्ष्विण्णः 'sounding inarticulately'; ञिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold'. The anuvṛitti of वर्तमाने 'in the sense of the present', is read into this sûtra from III. 2. 123.

मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १८८॥ पदानि ॥ मति-बुद्धि-पूजा-अर्थेभ्यः, च, (क्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतिरिच्छा, बुद्धिर्ज्ञानम्, पूजा सत्कारः, एतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो वर्तमानार्थे क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix क्त is employed with the force of the present.

The word मति means 'wish' or 'desire'; बुद्धि means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship','honor' or 'respect'. As राज्ञां मतः,—इष्टः,—बुद्धः,—ज्ञातः,—पूजितः, &c. 'the king wishes, desires, thinks, knows, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word च is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above sûtra. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: शीलितः 'practised'; रक्षितः 'protected'; क्षान्तः 'forbearing'; आक्रुष्टः 'censured'; जुष्टः 'pleased'; रुष्टः 'angry'; रुषितः 'angry'; अभिव्याहृतः 'uttered'; हृष्टः 'happy'; तुष्टः 'satisfied'; कान्तः 'favourite'; संयतः 'restrained'; उद्यतः ready'; कष्टं 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and अमृत 'immortal'. So also :—सुप्तः 'sleeping'; शयितः 'lying down'; आशितः 'eaten'; लिप्तः 'smeared'; तृप्तः 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.

ओ३म्

# अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

## BOOK THIRD.

### CHAPTER III.

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**उणादयो बहुलं ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ उण-आदयः, बहुलम्, (वर्तमाने) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः प्रत्यया वर्त्तमानेऽर्थे संज्ञायां विषये बहुलं भवन्ति ॥

1. The affixes 'Uṇ' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sûtra by anuvṛitti from sûtras III. 2. 123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the *Unâdi* affixes is that when, in appellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicatory letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pâṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix उण् is the first of these. The first sûtra of *Unâdi* affixes is the following—

कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशूभ्य उण् ॥

The affix उण् comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', वा 'to blow', पा 'to drink', जि 'to overcome', मि 'to scatter', स्वद् 'to be pleasant to the taste', साध् 'to accomplish', and अश् 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ + उण् = कारुः 'an artisan'. So also, वायुः 'the wind'; पायुः 'the organ of excretion'; जायुः 'a drug (which overcomes disease)'; मायुः 'the bile'; स्वादुः 'sweet'; साधुः 'who accomplishes the object of another, hence virtuous'; and आशुः quickly'.

These *Unâdi* affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word बहुल has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:

only some of them have been collected in works treating of *Unâdi* affixes. Thus though the affixes उलच् is ordained after वृष, it comes also after शक as शकुला. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pâṇini whether these words said to be formed by *Unâdi* affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover *all* the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is, their effects are not without remainder (सशेष). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of *Niruktas* and grammarians of the school of Sâkaṭâyana, consider all nouns and substantives (नाम) as derivative words from simple roots (धातुज). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (प्रकृति) or affix (प्रत्यय) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the *Unâdi* affixes :

बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् ।
कार्यसशेषविधेश्च तदुक्तं नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥ १ ॥
नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम् ।
यन्न पदार्थविशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तदूह्यम् ॥ २ ॥
संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।
कार्याद्विद्यादनूबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥ ३ ॥

भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते ॥२॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, अपि, दृश्यन्ते, (उणादयः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेकाले उणादयः प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते ॥

2. The 'Unâdi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last sûtra, it was taught that the *Unâdi* affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words 'are seen' being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on *finding* that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus वृत्+मनिन्=वर्त्मन् 'a way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); चर्+मनिन्=चर्मन् 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also भस्मन् 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

भविष्यति गम्यादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, गमि-आदयः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले गम्यादयः शब्दाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनद्यतन उपसंख्यानम् ॥

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of the future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the *Unâdi*

affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present, but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गमी ग्रामम् 'intending to go to the village'; आगामी 'that which has to come' So also प्रस्थायी 'departing'; प्रतिरोधी 'an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). प्रतिबोधी 'going to be awakened'. So also प्रतियोधी 'an adversary'; प्रतियोगी 'an enemy'; प्रतियायी; आयायी; भावी, &c.

*Vart*:—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be *anadyatana* future *i. e.* the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future लुट्, and not of the second future लृट्. As श्वो गमी ग्रामम् 'he intends to go to the village tomorrow'.

**यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लट् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्-पुरा-निपातयोः, लट्, (भविष्यति) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यावत्पुराशब्दयोर्निपातयोरुपपदयोर्भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix 'Laṭ' comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles 'yâvat' and 'purâ'.

The present tense has the force of the future when the *adverbs* यावत् and तावत् are used. The phrase 'futurity &c' is to be read into this sûtra from the last. Thus आलोके ते निपतति पुरा 'he will surely fall in the range of your sight'. यावदस्य दुरात्मनः समुन्मूलनाय शत्रुघ्नं प्रेषयामि. 'I shall send Satrughna to exterminate this wretch'.

These words पुरा and यावत् must be used as adverbs (nipâtas), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, यावद् दास्यति तावद् भोक्ष्यते 'as long as he will give, so long he will eat'; पुरा व्रजिष्यति 'he goes along the city'. Here यावत् is a relative pronoun; and पुरा is the Instrumental singular of पुर् 'city'.

**विभाषा कदाकर्ह्योः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कदा-कर्ह्योः, (भविष्यति, लट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कदाकर्हि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्विभाषा भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix 'Laṭ' is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs 'kadâ' and 'karhi'.

As कदा भुङ्क्ते 'when will he eat', or कदा भोक्ष्यते or भोक्ता; so also कर्हि भुङ्क्ते or भोक्ष्यते or भोक्ता 'when will he eat'.

**किंवृत्ते लिप्सायाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिप्सायाम्, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे लिप्सायां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. When the word 'kim' or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix 'Laṭ' is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sûtra. By using the word वृत्त along with किं it is meant that the rule applies even when किम् takes the affixes डतर and डतम. The word लिप्सा means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging'.

As कं भवन्तो भोजयन्ति or भोजयितारः 'whom will you feed'? It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also कतरो भिक्षां दास्यति, ददाति, दाता, or कतमो भिक्षां दास्यति &c, 'Which of the two or which of these all, will he give alms? Will he give something to me'?.

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as कः पाटलिपुत्रं गमिष्यति 'who will go to Pâṭaliputra'.

**लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिप्स्यमान-सिद्धौ, च, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ गम्यमानायां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity.

The word 'optionally' is also understood here. The word लिप्स्यमानसिद्धिः is equal to लिप्स्यमानात् सिद्धि, an Ablative-Taṭpurusha Compound, signifying *siddhi* or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sûtra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having किम् in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As यो भक्तं ददाति, स स्वर्गं गच्छति 'he who gives food, goes to heaven'; यो भक्तं दास्यति or दाता, स स्वर्गं गमिष्यति or गन्ता.

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (लिप्स्यमान) the success (सिद्धि), in the shape of *svarga*, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, 'the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences, *i. e.* it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish'.

**लोडर्थलक्षणे च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोड्-अर्थ-लक्षणे, च, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडर्थः प्रैषादिर्लक्ष्यते येन स लोडर्थलक्षणो धात्वर्थः, तत्र वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्भविष्यति काले विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'Laṭ' is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word लोडर्थ means 'having the sense of the affix लोट् or imperative mood'. The force of *lot* is 'to command, direct, invite &c' as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sûtra, translated literally, will mean 'the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (लक्षण) is to the thing signified (लक्ष्य)'. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छति (आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता) अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'if the professor *comes* (*i. e.* will come) then *read* you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the *lakshana* of the direction as to reading.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्, लोडर्थलक्षणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्त्तिके भविष्यतिकाले लोडर्थलक्षणार्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्विभाषा लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्लट् ॥

9. The 'Laṭ' (present) or the 'Liṅ' (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a 'muhûrta' (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sûtra apply here also, namely 'when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated'. By force of the word च we read the anuvṛitti of *lat* also into this aphorism. The word ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्त्तिक is a secondary derivative from ऊर्ध्वंमुहूर्त्त, meaning 'that which exists in time *above* a muhûrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the vṛiddhi takes place irregularly of the उ of मु and not of ऊ as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्त्तादुपरि मुहूर्त्तस्य उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छेत् (आगच्छति, आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता), अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

तुमुन्ण्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमुन्, ण्वुलौ, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्, (भविष्यति काले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपपदे धातोर्भविष्यति काले तुमुन्ण्वुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपपदे वासरूपेण तृजादयो न भवन्ति ॥

10. The affixes 'tumun' and 'ṇvul' are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the future, when the

word in construction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोक्तुम् व्रजति 'he goes to eat'; भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat'. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is व्रजति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियार्था), namely, eating.

Why do we say 'denoting an action'? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as भिक्षिष्ये इति अस्य जटाः 'matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg.' Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say 'performed for the sake of another action'? Observe धावतस्ते पतिष्यति दण्डः 'running, thy stick will fall'.

Now, it might be asked why ण्वुल् is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. 1. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subjeet also? If you reply that the future affix लृट् would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of 'non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously' given in III. 1. 94 will step in and will conduce the application of ण्वुल् in spite of लृट्.

*Vart.*—The repetition of the affix ण्वुल् (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for the sake of prohibiting the application of the affixes like तृच् &c. in denoting the above sense; that is to say, the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. 1. 94) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say कर्त्ता व्रजति 'he goes to do'; but we must say कर्तुम् instead.

These affixes form the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

**भाववचनाश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-वचनाः, च, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भावइति प्रकृत्य ये घञादयो विहितास्ते च भाववचना भविष्यतिकाले क्रियायामुपपदे क्रियार्थायां भवन्ति ॥

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as घञ् &c. (III. 1. 13.) have also the force of the future, when the word in construction therewith, is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

As पाकाय व्रजति 'he goes to cook'; भूतये व्रजति 'he goes for the sake of success'; पुष्टये व्रजति।

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the वाऽसरूप rule

does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence तुमुन् would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present sûtra.

Why the word वचन has been employed in the sûtra? The meaning is that the words should be expressive or वाचक. How do the affixes become वाचक? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed after those bases only, then they are said to be वाचक, not when they are employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mode as directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been especially formed by the भाववाच्य affixes, घञ् &c, can be employed with the force of gerund, and not every noun. The भाववाच्य nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

**अण् कर्मणि च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कर्मणि, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरण्प्रत्ययो भवति भविष्यतिकाले कर्मण्युपपदे क्रियायां च क्रियार्थायाम् ॥

12. The affix 'aṇ' comes after a root with the force of the future, when the word in construction with it is in the accusative case, and when the action is performed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of च is merely that of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1. the affix अण् comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of वासरूप not applying, the affix ण्वुल would have debarred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apavâda rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent the application of ण्वुल् of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of परत्व given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like क &c. Therefore this अण् comes after even those verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III. 2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the अण् of III. 2. 1 could not have come after simple verbs ending in long आ, such as दा 'to give' &c. But the present अण् with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गोदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give cows', and not गोदः। So also कम्बलदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give blanket'; अश्वदायो व्रजति। दा+अण्=दायः (VII. 3. 33).

So also काण्डलावो व्रजति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case अण् would have been applied even by III. 2. 1.

**लृट् शेषे च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृट्, शेषे, च, (भविष्यति, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायां, धातोः, लट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे शुद्धे भविष्यतिकाले चकारात् क्रियायां चोपपदे क्रियार्थायां धातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix 'Lṛiṭ' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, where futurity pure and simple is indicated; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करिष्यामि इति व्रजति 'he goes that I will do'; हरिष्यामि इति व्रजति 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिष्यति 'he will do'; हरिष्यति 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

लृटः सद्वा ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृटः, सद्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृटः स्थाने सत्संज्ञौ शतृशानचौ वा भवतः ॥

14. The affixes called 'Sat' i. e. 'śatri' and 'śânach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lṛiṭ'.

The सत् has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affixes शतृ and शानच् replace लृट् under the conditions in which they replace लट्; thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लृट् when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix. In these cases सत् will invariably replace लृट्. In other cases it will optionally replace लृट्. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As करिष्यन्तं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta about to do; करिष्यमाणं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. हे करिष्यन् or हे करिष्यमाण. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose, as अर्जयिष्यमाणो वसति 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; करिष्यमाणः सशरं शरासनं 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिष्यन्, करिष्यमाणः, करिष्यति or करिष्यते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिष्यन् is thus evolved. As कृ+लृट्=कृ+स्य+लृट् (III. 1. 33)= कर+इट्+स्य+शतृ=करिष्यत् nom. sing. करिष्यन्। In other words the participial affixes अत् (अन्त) and मान, technically known as शतृ and शानच्, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending स्य of the Future.

अनद्यतने लुट् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लुट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यदनद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लुट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परिदेवने श्वस्तनी भविष्यदर्थे वक्तव्या ॥

15. The affix 'Luṭ' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lṛiṭ'. As श्वः कर्ता 'he will do tomorrow'. श्वो भोक्ता 'he will eat tomorrow'.

The word 'anadyatana' is a Bahuvrihi compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, लृट् will be employed and not लुट्. As अद्य श्वो वा भविष्यति 'it will be today or tomorrow'. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

*Vart.*—The First Future (लुट्) is employed with the force of the Second Future (लृट्) when sorrow is expressed. As इयं नु कदा गन्ता, यैवं पादौ निदधाति ! 'Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)' अयं नु कदाऽध्येता, य एवमनभियुक्तः 'when will he learn, who is so inattentive'!

पदरुजविशस्पृशो घञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-रुज-विश-स्पृशः, घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pad' (to pace), 'ruj' (to pain), 'viś' (to enter), and 'spṛiś' (to touch).

The anuvṛitti of 'future' does not extend to this sûtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As पद्+घञ्=पादः 'foot'; रुज्+घञ्=रोगः 'disease'; so, वेशः 'entrance'.

*Vart* :—The verb स्पृश् takes घञ् when the sense is that of 'distress'; as स्पर्शः 'disease' or 'warmth'. The word स्पर्श meaning 'touch' is formed by adding the affix अच्, under rule III. 1. 134; as स्पर्शो देवदत्तः। There is difference in accent between these two words.

सृ स्थिरे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृ, स्थिरे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्त्तेर्धातोः स्थिरे कर्त्तरि घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ व्याधिमत्स्यबलेष्विति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'sṛi' (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word स्थिर means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent *moves* through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb. Thus, सृ+घञ्=सारः 'an essence'; as चन्दनसारः 'the essence of sandal', खदिरसारः 'the essence of catechu'.

Why do we say 'permanently fixed'? Observe सर्त्ता 'moves', सारकः 'that which flows'.

*Vart*:—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As अतिसारः 'dysentery'; विसारः 'a fish'; सारः 'strength'.

भावे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे वाच्ये धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'ghañ' comes after a root when mere action is denoted.

Thus, पच्+घञ्=पाकः 'cooking' (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52); त्यागः 'abandoning'; रागः 'colouring' (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote 'action' when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes घञ् &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As पक्तिः, पचनम्, पाकौ, पाकाः। These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

**अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कर्तरि, च, कारके, संज्ञायाम्, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जिते कारके संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. And the affix 'ghañ' comes after a root, when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus प्रासः (*i. e.* प्रास्यन्ति तम्) 'a dart, lit. that which men throw'; प्रसेवः (*i. e.* प्रसीव्यन्ति तम्) 'a sack, lit. that which men stitch together'; आहारः (*i. e.* आहरन्ति अस्माद्रसम्) 'food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves'. As मधुराहारः, तक्षशिलाहारः।

Why do we say 'not related as an agent'? Observe मेषः 'a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly'. Here the word मेष is related to the verb मिषति as agent, and the affix is consequently not घञ्.

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe कर्तव्यः कटः 'the mat must be made'.

The force of च in the sûtra is to indicate that घञ् may be applied irregularly in cases where appellative is not meant: as को भवता दायो दत्तः 'what gift was given by you'; को भवता लाभो लब्धः 'what gain was gained by you'.

The word कारक is used in the sûtra for this purpose. The word अकर्तरि is a compound word formed by the negative नञ् The word means a non-agent. Now the word 'non-agent' has two-fold significance; either it means any other kâraka which is not an agent-kâraka; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called पर्युदास, points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited; and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अकर्तरि, the word कारक becomes redundant, because 'non-agent' would mean any kâraka other than an agent.

But the very fact, that कारक is used, indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by Pâṇini:—That नञ् is compounded even with the force of प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध'. (VI. I. 45). अशित्, *non-sit*'.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (भाव)' and 'a kâraka 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II 2. 6 about नञ् Compound.

**परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाण-आख्यायाम्, सर्वेभ्यः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दारजारौ कर्त्तरि णिलुक् च ॥

20. The affix 'ghañ' comes after all roots when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि+चि+घञ्=निचै+अ (VII. 2. 115)=निचाय(VI. 1. 78) 'a heap'; as एकस्तण्डुलनिचायः; द्वौ शूर्पनिष्पवौ। कॄ 'to scatter'+घञ्=कारः। द्वौ कारौ; त्रयः काराः।

By using the word 'all' in the sûtra, it is indicated that the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अच् would only be prohibited by the *Paribhâsha:—"Apavâdas* that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *apavâda*-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Thus अच् being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अप् taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निश्चयः 'ascertaining'.

The word आख्या: has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not •Primitive words (रूढि). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like *Prastha, Pala* &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सर्वेभ्यः in this sûtra is to indicate that the affix घञ् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अच् or अप् by sûtras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken however, with certain limitations. The word सर्वेभ्यः is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use घञ्; we must use the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by घञ् when it supersedes अच् and अप्. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकातिलोच्छ्रितिः, द्वे प्रसृती &c.

*Vart*:—The affix घञ् comes after the causative verbs दारि and जारि, and there is *luk* elision of the causative affix णिच्; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus दारयन्ति भ्रातॄन्=दाराः 'a wife' (lit 'who divides brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); जारयन्ति=जाराः 'a paramour',

इङश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङः, च, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपादाने स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् तदन्ताच्च वा ङीष् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शॄ वायुवर्णनिवृत्तेषु ॥

21. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'iṅ' (to study).

This debars अच् (III. 3. 56). As अधि+इ+घञ् = अधि+ऐ+अ = अध्याय 'a lesson or lecture'; उपाध्यायः (उपेत्यास्मादधीते) 'a teacher'.

*Vart.*—When the word to be formed is related to the verb इङ् as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix ङीष्. As उपेत्याधीयतेऽस्या = उपाध्याया or उपाध्यायी 'a female teacher'.

*Vart.*—The affix घञ् comes after the root शॄ when the word so formed means 'wind', 'color', or 'cessation'. As शारः 'wind', 'green colour' &c. गौरिवाकृतनीशारः प्रायेण शिशिरे कृशः ।

उपसर्गे रुवः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदे रौतेर्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'rû' (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars अप् (III. 3. 57). As संरावः 'clamour', उपरावः &c.

Why do we say 'compounded with an upasarga'? Observe रवः 'sound',

समि युद्रुदुवः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, यु-द्रु-दुवः, (घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समि उपपदे यु द्रु दु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'yu' (to join), 'dru' (to run) and 'du' (to burn), when in composition with the preposition 'sam'.

As संयावः, संद्रावः, संदावः। But प्रयवः where the preposition is not *sam*.

श्रिणीभुवोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रि-णी-भुवः, अनुपसर्गे,(घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रि णी भू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'sri' (to go to) 'nî' (to lead) and 'bhû' (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars the affix अच् (III. 3. 56). As श्रायः 'shelter', नायः 'a means', भावः 'a condition'.

But with *upasargas*, we have प्रश्रयः 'respect', प्रणयः 'love'; प्रभवः 'source'.

How do we explain the form प्रभाव in प्रभावो राज्ञः 'the splendour of the king'? Here the word प्रभाव is not made from the compound root प्रभू+घञ्, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of samâsa, meaniug 'excellent condition'.

How do you explain the form नव in नवो राज्ञः? Here the root नी has taken the affix अप् diversely by III. 3. 113.

**वौ क्षुश्रुवः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वौ, क्षु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वावुपपदे क्षु श्रु इत्येताभ्यां धातुभ्यां घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'kshu' (to sneeze), and 'śru' (to move and hear) when the preposition 'vi' is in composition.

This debars the affix अप् (III. 3. 57); as, विक्षावः 'cough'; विश्रावः 'flowing forth', 'celebrated'. But when without preposition, we have क्षवः and श्रवः।

**अवोदोर्नियः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव-उदोः, नियः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उत् इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्नयतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'nî' (to lead) when the prepositions 'ava' and 'ut' are in composition.

As अवनायः 'throwing down'; उन्नायः 'elevation'.

How do you explain उन्नयः in उन्नयः पदार्थानाम्? Here the affix is 'ach' by III. 3. 113.

**प्रे द्रुस्तुस्रुवः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, द्रु-स्तु-स्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेशब्द उपपदे द्रु स्तु स्रु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'dru', 'stu' and 'sru', when the word in composition is 'pra'.

As प्रद्रावः, प्रस्तावः, प्रस्रावः। But not so in द्रवः, स्तवः and स्रवः।

**निरभ्योः पूल्वोः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्-अभ्योः, पू-ल्वोः (घञ्)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निरभिपूर्वयोः पूल्वोर्धात्वोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pû' (to purify) and 'lu' (to cut) when 'nir' and 'abhi' are respectively in composition.

The word पू refers to both पूङ् and पूञ्. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus निर् comes before पू, and अभि before लू। As निष्पावः 'winnowing'; अभिलावः 'moving'. But पवः and लवः, without these prepositions.

**उन्न्योर्ग्रः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-न्योः, ग्रः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उन्न्योरुपपदयोः गॄ इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'gṛî' when the upasargas 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition.

The verb गॄ here refers to both the verbs गॄ 'to make sound', and गॄ 'to swallow'. As उद्गारः समुद्रस्य 'the roaring of the sea'; निगारो देवदत्तस्य 'the swallow-

ing of Devadatta'. But when without these prepositions, we have गरः।

**कॄ धान्ये ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कॄ, धान्ये, (घञ्, उन्न्योः)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कॄ इत्येतस्माद्धातोरुन्न्योरुपपदयोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति धान्यविषयश्चेद्धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'kṛî', when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb कॄ here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As उत्कारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'; निकारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भैक्ष्योत्करः 'a heap of alms', पुष्पनिकरः 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

**यज्ञे समि स्तुवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञे, समि, स्तुवः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञविषये प्रयोगे संपूर्वात्स्तौतेर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्तावश्छन्दोगानाम् 'the Sanstâva of the Chhandogas; संस्ताव(= समेत्य स्तुवन्ति यस्मिन् देशे छंदोगाः स देशः) means 'the place which the Brâhmaṇas repeating hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice'.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तवश्छात्रयोः 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

**प्रे स्त्रोऽयज्ञे ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, स्त्रः, अयज्ञे, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तृञ् आच्छादने अस्माद्धातोः प्रशब्दउपपदे घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, नचेद्यज्ञविषयः प्रयोगो भवति ॥

32. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stṛî' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice'.

As, शंखप्रस्तारः 'a bed of conch'; मणिप्रस्तारः 'strewing of gems'.

**प्रथने वावशब्दे ॥३३॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथने, वौ, अशब्दे, (स्त्रः, घञ्)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तृञ् आच्छादने अस्माद्धातोर्विशब्दउपपदे घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रथने गम्यमाने तच्चेत्प्रथनं शब्दविषयं न भवति ॥

33. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stṛi' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.

The word प्रथनं means 'extent, circuit, range'. As पटस्य विस्तारः 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, तृणविस्तरः 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe विस्तरो वचसाम् 'prolixity of words'.

**छंदो नाम्नि च ॥ ३४ ॥ छंदः, नाम्नि, च, (वौ, स्त्रः, घ०)**

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात्स्तृणातेश्छन्दोनाम्नि घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ghañ' comes after 'stṛi' with the upasarga 'vi', when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word छन्द here means prosodial metre such as Gâyatri &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word नाम would not have been used. Thus वि+स्तृ+घञ्=वि+ष्टृ+घञ्(VIII. 3. 94)=विष्टारः 'the name of a metre called Vishṭâra-Pankti'.

The whole word विष्टारपंक्ति is the name of a metre, and is not a word *en ding* with the affix *ghañ*; only a member of this word, *i. e.* the first part ends with *ghañ*. The seventh case-affix in the word छन्दोनाम्नि has the force of location *i. e.* when the word so formed occurs *in* a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the *full* name, but it is *in* the name *i. e.* forms a portion of the name.

**उदि ग्रहः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, ग्रहः, (घ०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्युपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि निपूर्वादपीष्यते स्रुगुद्यमननिपातनयोः ॥

35. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix अप्. As उद्ग्राहः 'lifting up'.

*Vart*:—In the Vedas this affix is applied even when the word ग्रह is preceded by नि; and the ह is changed into भ; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, उद्ग्राभं च निग्राभं च ब्रह्मदेवा अवीवृधन् ।

**समि मुष्टौ ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, मुष्टौ, (ग्रहः, घ०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्युपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति मुष्टिविषयश्चेद्धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah' when in composition with the preposition 'sam' when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word मुष्टि means 'boxing', 'fist'; as, अहो मल्लस्य संग्राहः 'O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; अहो मुष्टिकस्य संग्राहः 'O! the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe संग्रहो धान्यस्य 'a collection of grain'.

परिन्योर्नीणोर्द्यूताभ्रेषयोः ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ परि-न्योः, नी-इणोः, द्यूत-अभ्रेषयोः, (घ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दे निशब्दे चोपपदे यथासंख्यं निय इणश्च धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, अभ्रेषवादः, द्यूताभ्रेषयोः ॥

37. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'nî' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sûtra. The verbs परि+नी and नि+इ, take घञ् when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिणायेन शारान् हन्ति 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman.' Here परिणाय=समन्तान्नय means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also नि+इ+घञ्=नि+ऐ+अ=नि+आय=न्यायः 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिणयः 'marriage', and न्ययं 'decay'; as न्ययङ्गतः पापः 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अभ्रेष means पदार्थानामनपचारो यथाप्राप्तकरणम् ।

परावनुपात्यय इणः ॥३८॥पदानि॥ परौ, अनुपात्यये, इणः, (घ०)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे इणो धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति अनुपात्यये गम्यमाने ॥

38. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As पर्यायः 'turn, succession'; तव पर्यायः 'thy turn'; मम पर्यायः 'my turn'.

Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालस्य पर्ययः 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुपात्ययः=क्रमप्राप्तस्यानतिपातः 'not breaking the series or order'.

व्युपयोः शेतेः पर्याये॥३९॥पदानि॥ वि-उपयोः, शेतेः, पर्याये,(घ०)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि उप इत्येतयोरुपपदयोः शेतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'śî' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, तव विशायः 'thy turn of sleeping' (*i. e.* the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); मम विशायः 'my turn of rest'; तव राजोपशायः= तव राजानमुपशयितुम्पर्यायः 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपशयः 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विशयः 'doubt'.

**हस्तादाने चेरस्तेये॥ ४०॥ पदानि ॥ हस्तादाने, चेः, अस्तेये, (घञ्)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तादाने गम्यमाने चिनोतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, न चेत् स्तेयं चौर्यं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उच्चयस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying 'taking by hand' the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पप्रचायः 'gathering flowers by hand'; फलप्रचायः 'gathering fruits by hand'.

Why do we say 'taking by hand'? Observe वृक्षाग्रस्थानां फलानां यष्ट्या प्रचयं करोति 'he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree'.

Why do we say 'when not meaning to steal'? Observe पुष्पप्रचयश्चौर्येण 'the gathering of flowers by theft'.

*Vart.*—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word उच्चयः 'gathering'; as पुष्पोच्चयः 'gathering of flowers by hand'.

**निवासचितिशरीरोपसमाधानेष्वादेश्च कः ॥ ४१॥ पदानि ॥ निवास-चिति-शरीर-उपसमाधानेषु, आदेः, च, कः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निवास चिति शरीर उपसमाधान, एतेष्वर्थेषु चिनोतेर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति धातोरादेश्च ककार आदेशो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'ghañ', comes after the root 'chi' (to gather), and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in these senses viz.—'a dwelling', 'a fire on the funeral pile', 'the body' and 'collection.

That in which people dwell (निवसति) is called निवासः or 'dwelling'. That which is gathered together (चीयते) is called चिति or 'funeral pile'. शरीर means the body of all living beings; and उपसमाधान means making a heap. Thus निकायः 'a dwelling'; as in काशीनिकायः 'Kâsi-dwelling'; आकायमग्निं चिन्वीत 'let him arrange the âkâya fire *i. e.* the funeral fire'; कायः 'body', as अनित्यः कायः 'a perishable body; महान् गोमयनिकायः 'a heap of cow-dung'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Observe चयः 'gathering'. Why is not this rule applied in महान् काष्ठनिचयः 'a large heap of wood'? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

**संघे चानौत्तराधर्ये ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघे, च, अनौत्तराधर्ये, (चेः, आदेश, कः, घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ संघे वाच्ये चिनोतेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति आदेश्च कः ॥

42. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather) and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in

the sense of 'a multitude or assembly' (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word संघ means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts :—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications, or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by *paryudâsa* negation the other is taken. Thus भिक्षुकनिकायः 'the assembly of beggars'; ब्राह्मणनिकायः 'the assembly of Brâhmaṇas'; वैयाकरणनिकायः 'the assembly of Grammarians'.

But सूकरनिचयः 'a herd of hogs'; because it is a mere collection. So also कृताकृतसमुच्चयः 'the collection of what is done and not done'; प्रमाणसमुच्चयः 'the collection of proofs'. Here there is no संघ in either of the two senses, it not being a collection of living animals, the affix *ghañ* is not employed.

कर्मव्यतिहारे णच् स्त्रियाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म-व्यतिहारे, णच्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे गम्यमाने धातोर्णच्प्रत्ययो भवति स्त्रीलिङ्गे वाच्ये ॥

43. The affix 'ṇach' comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word कर्म means 'action' and is not the technical 'Karma' meaning the accusative case. व्यतिहार means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere 'action' (भाव) also. The anubandha च in णच् is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in sûtra V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus वि+अव+क्रुश्+णच्+अञ्+ङीप्=व्यावक्रोशी (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) 'mutual abuse'. So also व्यावहासी, व्यावलेखी. The affix णच् forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix अञ् by V. 4 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix ङीप् of the feminine is added.

Why do we say 'in the feminine'? Observe व्यतिपाको वर्तते ।

The making of this a separate sûtra by itself and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with क्तिन् (III. 3. 94) is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with क्तिन् &c, then the affixes that would have debarred क्तिन् &c, would *a fortiori* have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar क्तिन् &c, do not debar this. Thus व्यावचोरी, व्यावचर्चो । Here चुर् being a ण्यन्त class root would have taken युच् (III. 3. 107) in the femi-

nine, as चोरणा ; and चर्च would have taken अङ् by III. 3. 104, as चर्चा. The roots ईक्ष् and ईह्, by III. 3. 102 & 103, take अ by debarring क्तिन्। This debarring affix अ, however, is not debarred by this rule; as व्यतीक्षा, व्यतीहा are the proper feminine forms, and not व्यतीक्षी &c. The form व्यात्युक्षी is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of बहुलं taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविधौ भाव इनुण् ॥४४॥ पदानि॥ अभिविधौ, भावे, इनुण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिविधौ गम्यमाने धातोर्भावे इनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'inuṇ' comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविधि means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus सांराविणम् 'a general or tumultuous uproar'; सं+कूट्+इन्+अण् (V. 4. 15. and VI 4. 164) = सांकूटिनम् 'a general confusion'; so सांराविणम् 'a general flow or stream'.

Why do we say 'when meaning co-extensiveness'? Observe संकोटः, संरावः, संद्रावः।

Why do we use the word भाव again in this sûtra, when its anuvṛitti was already flowing from sûtra III. 3. 18? The object is that the वाऽसरूप rule (III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence घञ् never comes in this sense. Pâtanjali says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes क्त &c. are prohibited; so that the affixes क्त &c. should not come in the neuter with the force of भाव।

The separateness of this sûtra is for the same purpose as the last aphorism. The affix ल्युट् is not, however, prohibited; as संकूटनम्. See rule कृत्यल्युटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113). The affix इनुण् (the operative part being इन्) forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix अण् by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशेऽवन्योर्ग्रहः ॥४५॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, अवन्योः, ग्रहः, (घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव नि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

45. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), in composition with 'ava', and 'ni'; when malediction is meant.

Though इनुण् is immediately, near, we take the anuvṛitti of घञ् (III. 3. 16), because we see that its anuvṛitti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means 'cursing'. As अवग्राहो हन्त ते वृषलभूयात् 'cursed be thou, O! sinner'. So also निग्राहस्ते भूयात्।

Why 'when meaning cursing'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य ; निग्रहश्चोरस्य ।

प्रे लिप्सायाम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लिप्सायाम्, (ग्रहः, घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्दउपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति लिप्सायाम् गम्यमानायाम् ॥

46. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', when the word 'pra' is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition.

As पात्रप्रग्राहेण चरति भिक्षुः पिण्डार्थी 'the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand'; स्रुवप्रग्राहेण चरति द्विजो दक्षिणार्थी 'carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brâhmaṇa walks about for his fee'. The word लिप्सा means the wish to have something'.

Why do we say 'when meaning desire of gain'? Observe प्रग्रहो देवदत्तस्य।

परौ यज्ञे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, यज्ञे, (ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपपदे ग्रहेर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', in composition with 'pari' when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As उत्तरपरिग्राहः 'the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar'; अधरपरिग्राहः 'the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar'.

Why do we say 'when relating to sacrifices'? Observe परिग्रहः देवदत्तस्य 'the fencing of Devadatta'.

नौ वृ धान्ये ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, वृ, धान्ये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्दउपपदे वृ इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्धान्यविशेषेऽभिधेये घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'vṛi' preceded by 'ni'; when the sense is that of grain.

The वृ here means both वृङ् and वृञ्. This debars the affix अप्. As नीवाराः 'rice growing wild or without cultivation'.

Why do we say 'meaning grain'? Observe निवरा कन्या 'a virgin girl'.

उदि श्रयतियौतिपूद्रुवः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, श्रयति-यौति-पू-द्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छब्दउपपदे श्रयत्यादिभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verbs 'śri', 'yu', 'pû' and 'dru', when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix *ach* (III. 3. 56). Thus उच्छ्रायः 'rising of a planet'; उद्यावः 'mixing'; उत्पावः 'purifying ghee'; and उद्द्रावः 'flight'.

How do you explain the form समुच्छ्रयः in पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः? The word विभाषा 'optionally' in the next sûtra, exerts a retrospective effect on this sûtra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is

called सिंहावलोकनन्यायः 'the maxim of the lion's backward glance'. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

विभाषा ऽऽङि रुप्लुवोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आङि, रु-प्लुवोः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङि उपपदे रौतेः प्लवतेश्च विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verbs 'ru' (to roar) and 'plu' (to float), when the preposition 'âṅ' is in composition.

As आरावः or आरवः 'noise'; आप्लावः or आप्लवः 'bathing'.

अवे ग्रहो वर्षप्रतिबन्धे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, ग्रहः, वर्ष-प्रतिबन्धे, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति विभाषा वर्षप्रतिबन्धेऽभिधेये ॥

51. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the root 'grah', when the word 'ava' is in composition, the sense being witholding of rain.

The word 'optionally' is understood here. The word वर्षप्रतिबन्ध means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived; as अवग्राहः or अवग्रहो देवस्य 'the draught of rain'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'obstruction of rain'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य ।

प्रे वणिजाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ प्रे, वणिजाम्, (विभाषा, ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तवाच्यश्चेद् वणिजां सम्बन्धी भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words *grah* and *vibhâshâ* are understood here. By 'relation to commerce' is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुलाप्रग्रहः or तुलाप्रग्राहः, as तुलाप्रग्राहेण चरति or तुलाप्रग्रहेण चरति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say 'when belonging to commerce'? Observe प्रग्रहो देवदत्तस्य 'the whip of Devadatta'.

रश्मौ च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रश्मौ, च, (ग्रहः, विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्दउपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति रश्मिश्चेत्प्रत्ययान्तेनाभिधीयते ॥

53. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रश्मि means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control; as प्रग्रहः or प्रग्राहः 'a rein'.

वृणोतेराच्छादने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृणोतेः, आच्छादने, (विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्दउपपदे वृणोतेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तं न चेदाच्छादनविशेष उच्यते ॥

54. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'vṛi' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means 'a sort of covering'.

As प्रावारः or प्रवरः 'a cloak, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering'? Observe प्रवरागौ।

परौ भुवोऽवज्ञाने ॥ ५५ ॥ परौ, भुवः, अवज्ञाने, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपपदे विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति अवज्ञाने गम्यमाने ॥

55. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bhû', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word अवज्ञान means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As परिभावः or परिभवः 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard'? The word परिभवः may be then construed to mean सर्वतोभवनं=परिभवः 'surrounding'.

एरच् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अच्, (अकर्तरि, संज्ञायाम्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्भावे अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायामच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अज्विधौ भयादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जवसवौ छन्दसि वक्तव्यौ ॥

56. The affix 'ach' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'î' (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sûtras 18 and 19: and these words are to be supplied in every subsequent sûtra as far as sûtra 113 of this chapter. This debars घञ्. The च् in अच् is qualitative, in sûtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, चयः 'collecting'; अयः 'going'; जयः 'victory'; क्षयः 'wasting'.

*Vart.*—In this connection the words भय &c. should also be enumerated. As भी+अच्=भयम् 'fear'; वर्षम् 'rain'. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix क्त &c. but for this Vârtika.

*Vart.*—The words जव and सव are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As ऊर्वोरस्तु मे जवः, पंचौदनसवः। These roots जु and सु would have otherwise taken the affix अप्. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI. 2.

ॠदोरप् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ॠत्-ओः, अप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्य उवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. After a root ending in long 'ṛî', short 'u', or long 'û', there is the affix 'ap'.

This debars घञ्. The प् is indicatory for the sake of accent (III. 1. 3); as, कॄ+अप्=करः 'scattering'; गॄ—गरः 'beverage, poison'; शॄ—शरः 'arrow'; यु—यवः 'barley'; लू— लवः 'reaping'; पू—पवः 'winnowing corn'.

The त् in ॠत् is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not त् changed into ॠ; for then by the rule 'that which follows त् is also called तपर" short ऋ only would have been taken and not long ॠ (I. 1. 70).

ग्रहवृदृनिश्चिगमश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रह-वृ-दृ-निश्चि-गमः, च, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो ऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वशिरण्योरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घञर्थे कविधानं स्थास्नापाव्यधिहनियुध्यर्थम् ॥

58. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'grah', 'vṛi', 'dṛi', 'niśchi' and 'gam'.

This debars घञ्; and in the case of निश्चि the affix अच् is debarred. As ग्रहः 'a planet'; वरः 'a boon'; दरः 'tearing, a cave'; निश्चयः 'certainty'; गमः 'march'.

The verb निश्चि would have taken अच्, but takes अप् which causes difference of accent.

*Vart.*—The roots वश् and रण् should also be included in this; as वशः 'obedient'; रणः 'battle'.

*Vart.*—When the sense is that of घञ्, the affix क is directed to be employed, after the following verbs :—स्था, स्ना, पा, व्यध्, हन् and युध्। As प्रस्थः 'a table-land' (on which they *move*); प्रस्नः 'a vessel for bathing' (in which they *bathe*); प्रपाः 'a place where water is distributed to travellers' (that out of which they *drink*); आविधः (VI. 1. 16) 'an awl, a drill' (that by which they *pierce*); विघ्नः 'an obstacle' (in which they are *obstructed*); आयुधः 'battle' (where they *fight*).

उपसर्गेऽदः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, अदः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदेऽदेर्धातोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विघसः (II. 4. 38) 'half-chewed morsel'; प्रघसः 'voracious'.

Why do we say 'when compounded with an upasarga'? Observe घासः 'grass'; अद्+घञ्=घस्+अ (II. 4. 38).

**नौ ण च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, ण, च, (अदः, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्द उपपदे अदेर्धातोर्णःप्रत्ययो भवति चकारादप् च ॥

60. And the affix 'ṇa' as well as 'ap', comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition.

As नि+अद्+ण=नि+आद्+अ=न्यादः (VII. 2. 116) 'feeding'; नि+अद्+अप्= नि+घस्+अ (II. 4. 38)=निघसः 'eating, food'.

**व्यधजपोरनुपसर्गे ॥६१॥ पदानि ॥ व्यध-जपोः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यध जप इत्येतयोरनुपसर्गयोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'vyadh' and 'jap', when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars घञ्. As व्यधः 'wound'; जपः 'muttering'.

Why do we say 'when upasarga-less'? Observe आव्याधः, उपजापः।

**स्वनहसोर्वा ॥६२॥ पदानि ॥ स्वन-हसोः, वा, (अप्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वनहसोरनुपसर्गयोर्वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'svan' and 'has' when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वनः or स्वानः 'sound'; हसः or हासः 'laughter'. But with upasargas, we have only one form; प्रस्वानः 'a loud noise'; प्रहासः 'a loud laughter'.

**यमः समुपनिविषु च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, सम्-उप-नि-विषु, च, (अनुपसर्गे, वा, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उप नि वि इत्येतेषूपपदेषु अनुपसर्गेऽपि यमेर्वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. And the affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'yam', when the upasargas 'sam', 'upa', 'ni' and 'vi' are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars घञ्. As संयामः or संयमः 'restraint'; उपयामः or उपयमः 'marriage'; नियामः or नियमः 'restrictive rule'; वियाम. or वियमः 'check, distress'; यामः or यमः।

**नौ गदनदपठस्वनः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, गद-नद-पठ-स्वनः, (अप्, वा) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निपूर्व्व उपपदे गद नद पठ स्वन इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'paṭh' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.

This debars घञ्. Thus निगदः or निगादः 'recitation'; निनदः or निनादः 'noise'; निपठः or निपाठः 'reading'; निस्वनः or निस्वानः 'a noise'.

**क्वणो वीणायां च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्वणः, वीणायाम्, च, (नौ, वा, अनुपसर्गे, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्वणतेर्धातोर्निपूर्वादनुपसर्गाच्च वीणायां वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvaṇ' (to jingle), when 'ni' is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when 'flute' is meant.

This debars the affix घञ्. Thus निक्वणः or निक्वाणः 'a musical tone'. क्वणः or क्वाणः 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि; as कल्याणप्रक्वणा वीणा.

But not so here, अतिक्वाणो वर्तते, where the upasarga being अति and the word not referring to 'a flute', no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be नि or no upasarga at all, for the optional application of the affix अप्. To sum up, क्वण् takes अप् optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by नि, or 2ndly when having no upasarga, or 3rdly when it refers to 'flute', and then it must have some upasarga.

**नित्यं पणः परिमाणे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, पणः, परिमाणे, (अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पण व्यवहारे स्तुतौ च, अस्माद्धातोर्नित्यमप्प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

66. The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'paṇ' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word नित्यं 'invariably' is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word optionally. Thus मूलकपणः 'a handful of radishes'; शाकपणः 'a handful of vegetable'. These words secondarily have come to mean 'a measure equal to a handful', irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have पाणः 'trade'.

**मदोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मदः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ मदेर्धातोरनुपसर्गादप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars घञ्. As विद्यामदः 'pride of knowledge'; धनमदः 'pride of wealth'; कुलमदः 'pride of family'. When compounded with upasargas, we have उन्मादः 'mad'; प्रमादः 'error or carelessness'.

**प्रमदसम्मदौ हर्षे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमद-सम्मदौ, हर्षे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमद सम्मद इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते हर्षेऽभिधेये ॥

68. The words 'pramada' and 'sammada' are irregularly formed, meaning 'joy'.

As कन्यानां प्रमदः 'the joy of girls'; कोकिलानां संमदः 'the rejoicing of cuckoos'.

Why do we say 'when meaning delight'? Observe प्रमादः 'carelessness'; संमादः 'frenzy'.

Instead of saying 'the verb *mad* preceded by *pra* and *sam* takes the affix *ap*' which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sûtra to indicate that these words are रूढि in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

**समुदोरजः पशुषु ॥६९॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उदोः, अजः, पशुषु, (अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोरुपपदयोरजतेर्धातोः पशुविषये धात्वर्थेऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'aj' (to go), when the prepositions 'sam' and 'ut' are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars घञ्. The root अज 'means to go, to throw'. When preceded by सम्, it means 'a collection'; and preceded by उत् it means 'driving'. As समजः पशूनां 'a herd of cattle'; उदजः पशूनां 'driving forth of cattle'.

Why do we say 'when applying to cattle? Observe समाजो ब्राह्मणानां, उदाजः क्षत्रियाणां ।

**अक्षेषु ग्लहः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षेषु, ग्लहः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लह इति निपात्यते अक्षविषयश्चेद्धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

70. The word 'glaha' is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root ग्रह्. The verb ग्रह् takes the affix अप् and thus forms ग्रह्; and then irregularly र is changed into ल; as अक्षस्य ग्लहः 'cast of the dice'.

Why do we say 'when referring to gambling'? Observe ग्रहः पादस्य ।

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्लह् 'to gamble', by adding the affix अप्, and thus debarring घञ्. They suppose, therefore, the existence of the root ग्लह् to explain the form ग्लहः । The counter-example which they would give, is ग्राहः 'receiving', formed by adding the affix घञ् ।

**प्रजने सर्त्तेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, सर्त्तेः, (अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्त्तेर्धातोः प्रजने विषये अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'sri' (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars घञ्. The word प्रजनं means 'the first covering of a cow by a bull'. As गवामुपसरः 'impregnation of cows'; पशूनामुपसरः 'impregnation of cattle'.

**ह्वः संप्रसारणं च न्यभ्युपविषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, च, नि-अभि-उप-विषु, (अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अभि उप वि इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु ह्वयतेर्धातोः संप्रसारणम् अप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' (to call), when the preposition 'ni' 'abhi' 'upa' and 'vi' are in composition with it, and its semivowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars घञ्. As नि+ह्वे+अप्=नि+हु+अ(VI. 1. 108)=नि+हो+अ(VII. 3. 84)=निहव (VI. 1. 78) 'invocation'; अभिहवः 'invocation'; उपहवः 'invitation; विहवः 'calling'. But प्रह्वायः 'a summons'.

**आङि युद्धे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, युद्धे, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणं, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् उपपदे ह्वयतेर्धातोः संप्रसारणमप् प्रत्ययो भवति युद्धेऽभिधेये ॥

73. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' when the word in composition is the upasarga 'âṅ', and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As आहवः 'battle' (where they *challenge* each other). But otherwise आह्वायः 'calling'.

**निपानमाहावः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपानम्, आहावः, (आङि, ह्वः, सम्प्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्पूर्वस्य ह्वयतेर्धातोः संप्रसारणमप्प्रत्ययो वृद्धिश्च निपात्यते निपानं चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

74. The word 'âhâva' is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word आहावः is irregularly formed from ह्वे by the prefix आ, then samprasâraṇa, and the vṛiddhi of the vowel. Thus आ+ह्वे+अप्=आहु+अ=आहौ+अ=आहावः 'a trough near a well for watering cattle'. Otherwise आह्वायः 'calling'. Even in the word आहावः the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.

भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गस्य ह्वयतेः संप्रसारणमप्प्रत्ययो भवति भावेऽभिधेये ॥

75. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

As हवः 'calling'; हवे हवे सुहवं शूरमिन्द्रम् ।

Why do we say 'when no upasarga is in composition with it ? Observe आह्वायः । Though the anuvṛitti of the word भाव was understood in this aphorism from sûtra 18, its repetition here shows that the anuvṛitti of sûtra 19. which was running, must not be taken ; so that this word applies to agent-kâraka also.

हनश्च वधः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, च, वधः, (भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोरनुपसर्गे भावे अप्प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्संनियोगेन च वधादेशः, स चान्तोदात्तः।

76. The affix 'ap' comes after the root 'han' when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and 'vadha' is the substitute of 'han' before this affix.

Thus वध has udâtta accent on its final. The affix अप् which is anudâtta generally (III. 1. 4) thus becomes udâtta.

As वधश्चोराणाम् 'the killing of thieves'; वधोदस्यूनाम् 'the killing of robbers'.

When action is not denoted, the affix घञ् applies; as घातः 'a blow.

So also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as प्रघातः, घातः ।

The word च in the aphorism does not connect हन् with the substitute वध, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Thus we have the affix घञ् also ; as घातः 'killing'.

मूर्तौ घनः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूर्तौ, घनः, (हनः, अप्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्त्तावभिधेयायां हन्तेरप्प्रत्ययो भवति, घनादेशः ॥

77. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the word so formed means solidity, and 'ghan' is the substitute.

The word मूर्त्ति means 'hardness', 'solidity'. Thus अभ्रघनः 'a mass of cloud'; दधिघनः 'solid curd'. How do we say घनं दधि ? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.

अन्तर्घनो देशे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, घनः, देशे, (हनः, अप्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तःपूर्वाद्धन्तेरप्प्रत्ययो भवति घनादेशश्च भवति देशेऽभिधेये ॥

78. The verb 'han' preceded by the word 'antar' takes the affix 'ap', and 'ghan' is the substitute of the word 'han', when the word so formed means 'a country'.

As अन्तर्+हन्+अप्=अन्तर्=घन्+अ=अन्तर्घनः 'name of a country of Bahika'; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with a ण as अन्तर्घणः, that is also valid.

Why do we say 'when meaning a country'? Observe अन्तर्घातो 'striking in the middle'.

**अगारैकदेशे प्रघणः प्रघाणश्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अगार-एकदेशे, प्रघणः, प्रघाणः, च, (हनः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य हन्तेः प्रघण प्रघाण इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते अगारैकदेशे वाच्ये ॥

79. The words 'praghaṇa' and 'praghâṇa' are irregularly formed meaning 'a portion of a dwelling house'.

Thus प्रघणः or प्रघाणः 'a porch before the door of a house, a portico'. This is formed from हन् with प्र, irregularly.

Why do we say 'when meaning a portion of a house'? Observe प्रघातः।

**उद्घनोत्याधानम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्घनः, अत्याधानम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वस्य हन्तेरुद्घन इति निपात्यतेऽत्याधानं चेद् भवति ॥

80. The word 'udghana' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'bench'.

This is formed from उत्+हन् irregularly. Thus उद्घनः 'a carpenter's bench' (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c).

When not having this sense, we have उद्घातः 'uneven'.

**अपघनोऽङ्गम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपघनः, अङ्गम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपघन इति निपात्यते, अङ्गं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

81. The word 'apaghana' is irregularly formed meaning 'a member of the body'.

This is formed irregularly from अप+हन्. Thus अपघनः 'a limb or member of the body'. The word अङ्गम् means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have अपघातः।

**करणेऽयोविद्रुषु ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, अयः-वि-द्रुषु, (हनः, अप्, घनः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस् वि द्रु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु हन्तेर्धातोः करणे कारकेऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति, घनादेशश्च ॥

82. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han'

when the words 'ayas', 'vi' or 'dru' are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and 'ghan' is the substitute of 'han'.

As अयोघनः 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); विघनः 'a mallet'; द्रुघनः 'an axe'. Some write द्रुघणः, the न being changed into ण either by rule VIII. 4. 3. or by including this word in the class of गिरिनद्यादि (IV. 2. 80).

स्तम्बे क च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्बे, क, च, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बशब्द उपपदे करणे कारके हन्तेः कः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादप् ॥

83. The affix 'ka' also comes after the verb 'han', when 'stamba' (a clump) is the word in composition, and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word च in the sûtra draws in अप् from the last aphorism and in that case घन् replaces हन्. Thus स्तम्बघ्नः or स्तम्बघनः 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are स्तम्बघ्ना as well as स्तम्बघना। When क is added, we have स्तम्बघ्नः। Thus हन्+क=ह्न्+अ (VI. 4. 98) =घ्न (VII. 3. 54). When अप् is added, हन् is totally replaced by घन्। When instrument is not meant, we have स्तम्बघातः।

परौ घः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, घः, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपपदे हन्तेर्धातोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति करणेकारके घशब्दश्चादेशः ॥

84. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the upasarga 'pari' is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and 'gha' replaces 'han'.

Thus परिघः or पलिघः (VIII. 2. 22) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

उपघ्न आश्रये ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपघ्न, आश्रये, (अप्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरप्प्रत्यय उपधालोपश्च निपात्यते ॥

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding अप् (III. 3. 76) to the verb हन् preceded by the upasarga उप, then eliding the penultimate अ of ह; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi rules हन् is changed into घ्नः। This form would have been given by the affix क also, without any irregularity.

The word आश्रय refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus पर्वतोपघ्नः 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also ग्रामोपघ्नः 'bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'support'? Observe पर्वतोपघातः।

संघोद्घौ गणप्रशंसयोः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-उद्घौ, गण-प्रशंसयोः, (अप्, घत्वं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्‌उदोरुपपदयोर्हन्तेर्धातोरप्प्रत्ययष्टिलोपो घत्वं च निपात्यते, यथासंख्यं गणेऽभिधेये प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

86. The words 'saṅgha' and 'udgha' are irregularly formed in the sense of 'a collection', and 'a praise' respectively.

These words are thus formed; सम्+हन्+अप्=सं+ह्+अ=सं+घ्+अ=संघः। Thus संघः पशूनाम् 'a herd of cattle'; so also उद्घो मनुष्यः 'an excellent man'. The word 'respectively' is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these senses, we have संघातः 'union'.

निघो निमितम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निघः, निमितम्, (हनः, अप्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघ इति निपूर्वाद्धन्तेरप्प्रत्ययष्टिलोपो घत्वं च निपात्यते निमितं चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

87. The word 'nigha' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'as high as broad'.

The word निमित means 'measured all round' *i. e.* 'as high as broad'. As निघा वृक्षाः 'trees as high as broad'. निघाः शालयः 'square or cubic or circular halls'. Otherwise, when not meaning 'as high as broad', we have निघातः 'a blow'. The word निमित=समन्तान्मितं, समारोहपरिणाहम्। It may be derived from मा or from मि। In the first case it will mean 'measured' and in the other, 'erected, built'. Professor Bothlingk refers to *Apastamba Dharma*. I. 20. 30 for the meaning of this word.

ड्वितः क्त्रिः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ डु-इतः, क्त्रिः, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डु इत्यस्य तस्माद् ड्वितो धातोः क्त्रिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. The affix 'ktṛi' comes after the verb which has an indicatory 'ḍu', when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases 'when the sense is that of mere action', and 'when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent', are of course understood in this, as in all the previous aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix क्त्रि, मप् is always the augment) we must add म, for we can not use the affix त्रि alone; but we must always use त्रिम. Thus डुपचष् 'to cook'—पक्त्रिमम् 'what is ripe'; डुवप्—उप्त्रिमम् 'sown' (VI. 1. 15); डुकृञ्—कृत्रिमम् 'artificial'.

ट्वितोऽथुच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टु-इतः, अथुच्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टु इत्यस्य तस्मात् ट्वितो धातोरथुच् प्रत्ययो भवति भावादौ ॥

89. After that verb which has an indicatory 'ṭu', the affix 'athuch' comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.

As टुवेपृ—वेपथुः 'a trembling'; टुओश्वि—श्वयथुः 'swelling'; टुक्षु – क्षवथुः 'sneezing; टुदु—दवथुः 'burning'.

**यजयाचयतविच्छप्रच्छरक्षो नङ् ॥९०॥ पदानि ॥ यज-याच-यत-विच्छ-प्रच्छ-रक्षः, नङ्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो नङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yâch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vichchh' (to shine), 'prachchh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'naṅ' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sûtras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The ङ् of नङ् is for the sake of prohibiting guṇa or vṛiddhi(I. 1. 5); as यज्ञः 'sacrifice'; याच्ञा 'solicitation'; यत्नः 'effort'; विश्नः (VI. 4. 19) 'lustre'; प्रश्नः 'a question'; रक्ष्णः protection.

The root प्रच्छ, by VI. 1. 16, ought to have changed its र into ऋ before the ङित् affix नङ्. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pâṇini, as we know from the fact that Pâṇini himself uses the form प्रश्नः in III. 2. 117.

**स्वपो नन् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपः, नन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेर्धातोर्नन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix 'nan' comes, under similar circumstances after the verb 'svap' (to sleep).

The final न् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197); as स्वप्नः 'a dream'.

**उपसर्गे घोः किः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, घोः, किः, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदे घुसंज्ञकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix 'ki' comes under similar conditions, after a 'ghu' verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The क् is indicatory, by force of which the final आ is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus प्र+दा+कि=प्रदिः 'a present'; प्रधिः 'the periphery of a wheel'; उपाधिः 'fraud'; अन्तर्द्धिः 'vanishing'.

**कर्मण्यधिकरणे च ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अधिकरणे, च, (घोः, भावे, अकर्त्तरि, कारके) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे घुसंज्ञकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किःप्रत्ययो भवति, अधिकरणे कारके ॥

93. The affix 'ki' comes after a 'ghu' verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of 'location'.

As जलधिः 'the ocean (in which water is held)'; शरधिः 'a quiver (that in which arrows are put)'.

The word 'location' in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other significance. The word च in the aphorism draws in the affix कि from the last sûtra.

स्त्रियां क्तिन् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावादौ धातोः क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्तिन्नाबादिभ्यश्च वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रुयजिस्तुभ्यः करणे ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ग्लाम्लाज्याहाभ्यो निः ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ॠकारल्वादिभ्यः क्तिन्निष्ठावद्भवति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सम्पदादिभ्यः क्विप् ॥

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'ktin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3. 18. and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes घञ्, अच् and अप् affixes. Thus कृतिः 'action'; चितिः 'a gathering'; मतिः 'understanding'.

*Vart.*—The affix *ktin* should be declared to come after the verbs आप् 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus आप्तिः 'getting'; राद्धिः 'accomplishment'; दीप्तिः 'shining'; स्रस्तिः 'a slip'; ध्वस्तिः 'destruction'; लब्धिः 'gain'.

*Vart.*—So also after the verbs श्रु 'to hear', यज् 'to worship' and स्तु 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as श्रुतिः 'ear' (that by which we hear)'; so इष्टिः 'a sacrifice'; स्तुतिः 'a praise.

*Vart.*—The affix नि comes after the verbs ग्लै 'to be exhausted', म्लै 'to fade, 'ज्या 'to grow old' and हा 'to leave'; as ग्लानिः 'exhaustion'; म्लानिः 'fading', ज्यानिः 'old age'; हानिः 'loss'.

*Vart.*—The affix क्तिन् coming after verbs ending in long ॠ and the verbs लू &c. is like a Nishṭhâ. Thus कीर्णिः 'scattering'; This form is thus evolved: कॄ + क्तिन्=कि + ति (VII. 1. 100)=किर्+ति (I. 1. 51)= कीर् + ति(VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, त is changed into न by the affix being treated as a Nishṭhâ (VIII. 2. 42), and this न is changed into ण by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so

also गीर्त्तिः 'praise'; जीर्त्तिः 'old age'; शीर्त्तिः 'drying'; लूनिः (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; यूनिः 'joining'; धूनिः 'agitation'; पूनिः 'destruction'.

*Vart.*—The affix क्विप् comes after the verbs संपद् &c; as संपद् 'prosperity'; विपद् 'a calamity'; प्रतिपद् 'access'. The affix क्तिन् is also employed after these verbs:—as संपत्तिः, विपत्तिः। The verbs लू &c. are 21 verbs of kryâdi class.

स्थागापापचो भावे ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-गा-पा-पचः, भावे, (स्त्रियां, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावे क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. After the roots 'sthâ' (to stand), 'gâ' (to sing) 'pâ' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix 'ktin' is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debars the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106) which generally supersedes क्तिन् in cases of compound verbs ending in long आ. Thus प्रस्थितिः 'a journey' (VII 4. 40); उद्गीति 'a singing aloud'; गै+क्ति=गा+ति (VI. 1. 45)=गी+ति (VI. 4. 66); संगीतिः 'a concert'; प्रपीतिः 'a cistern'; संपीतिः 'drinking together'; पक्तिः 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भाव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛitti being understood from sûtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like अवस्था and संस्था? Pâṇini himself, in his sûtras, has used forms like व्यवस्था &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like अवस्था, संस्था &c. by applying the affix अङ् under rule 106, in spite of the present sûtra, which requires us to apply क्तिन् only.

मन्त्रे वृषेषपचमनविदभूवीरा उदात्तः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे, वृष-इष-पच-मन-विद्-भू-वी-रा, उदात्तः, (भावे, स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रे विषये वृषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः क्तिन्प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः ॥

96. In Mantra literature, 'ktin' acutely accented comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action:—'vṛish' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhû' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'râ' (to give).

The construction of this sûtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृष्टिः 'raining'; इष्टिः 'wishing'; पक्तिः 'cooking'; मतिः 'thinking'; वित्तिः 'knowing'; भूतिः 'being'; वीतिः 'consuming'; रातिः 'giving'.

The affix क्तिन् has been generally ordained by sûtra 94 after all verbs. The present sûtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From इष् we have also an irregular noun इच्छा (III 3. 101), and

another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rig Veda I. 116. 12; II 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5, 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

**ऊतियूतिजूतिसातिहेतिकीर्त्तयश्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊति-यूति-जूति-साति-हेति-कीर्त्तयः, च, (उदात्तः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊत्यादयः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

97. And these words viz. 'ûti' (preserving sport), 'yûti' (joining), 'jûti' (velocity), 'sâti', (destruction), 'heti' (a weapon) and 'kîrti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvṛitti of the word मंत्रे does not exist in this; but the word उदात्त of the last syllable is understood here. The word ऊति is thus formed :—अव् 'to protect' + क्तिन् = ऊ + तिः (VI. 4. 20) = ऊतिः । this form is regular and could be evolved from sûtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in यूतिः and जूतिः consists in the lengthening of उ into ऊ; in सातिः the आ of the root सो which becomes सा by VI. 1 45, is not changed into इ, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root सन् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sûtra: thus सन् + क्तिन् = सा + क्तिन् (VI. 4. 42) = साति. The form हेति may by derived either from हन् or हिनोति ।

इन्द्र वाजेषु नोऽव सहस्रप्रधनेषु च । उग्र उग्राभिरूतिभिः ॥ (Rig. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

**व्रजयजोर्भावे क्यप् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रज-यजोः, भावे, क्यप्, (उदात्तः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रजयजोर्धात्वोः स्त्रीलिंगे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति, उदात्तः ॥

98. The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraj' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus व्रज्या 'wandering about'; इज्या (VI. 1. 15) 'worshipping'. The प् of क्यप् is indicatory, and though it serves no purpose in this sûtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of क्यप् having प्, that we add a त by VI 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

**संज्ञायां समजनिषदनिपतमनविदषुञ्शीङ्भृञिणः ॥९९॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां, समज-निषद-निपत-मन-विद-षुञ्-शीङ्-भृञ्-इणः, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्, उदात्तः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ समजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियां क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix 'kyap' comes after the following verbs in forming a word in the feminine denoting an appellative' and is acutely accented viz:—'sam-aj' 'ni-shad', 'ni-pat', 'man', 'vid', 'suñ,' 'śîñ', 'bhṛiñ' and 'iṇ'.

Thus समज्या 'an assembly'; निषद्या 'a small bed or couch'; निपत्या 'slippery ground'; मन्या 'thinking'; विद्या 'knowledge'; सुत्या (VI. 1. 71) 'extraction of soma juice, parturition'; शय्या 'bed'; भृत्या 'wages, service'; इत्या 'a litter, palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards भृ. By rule III. 1. 112, भृ would have taken क्यप्, and we could have got the form भृत्या by that rule also. But the भृत्या formed under that rule would not have denoted an appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. 1. 112 when it used the words असंज्ञायां, was rather too wide, for क्यप् does come in denoting संज्ञा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word असंज्ञायां there, must be qualified by the phrase, 'except in the feminine'. The test whether rule 112, is too widely worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भार्या meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix ण्यत् to the exclusion of क्यप्।

संज्ञायां पुंसि दृष्टत्वा न ते भार्या प्रसिध्यति ।
स्त्रियां भावाधिकारोऽस्ति तेन भार्या प्रसिध्यति ॥

The word भावाधिकारः is explained by the author of Kâsikâ as भावव्यापारो, वाच्यत्वेन विवक्षितः, नतु शास्त्रीयोऽधिकारः ।

कृञः श च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृञः, श, च, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेर्धातोः स्त्रियां शः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्यप् च ॥

100. And after the root 'kṛi' comes the affix 'śa' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'kyap'.

By the force of the word च we draw the affix क्यप् into this sûtra, and by the process called योगविभाग we can split up this aphorism into two :—

(1) कृञः 'after the root कृ there is the affix क्तिन्'

(2) श च 'and the affix श as well as क्यप्'. Thus क्रिया, कृत्या (VI. 1. 71) and कृतिः । When the affix श is added, the root assumes the form क्रिय by III. 1. 67.

इच्छा ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा, (श) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषेर्धातोः शः प्रत्ययो यगभावश्च निपात्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परिचर्यापरिसर्यामृगयाटाट्यानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जागर्तेरकारो वा ॥

101. The form 'ichchhâ' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed : इष्+श=इच्छ+अ=इच्छा. The यक् ordained by III 1. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.

*Vart.*—The following words are also irregularly formed :—परिसर्या 'perambulation'; परिचर्या 'attendance, service'; मृगया 'hunting'; अटाट्या 'the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant'.

*Vart.*—From the root जागृ we have either जागरा or जागर्या 'waking'. The first is formed by the affix अ, the latter by श which brings in यक् (III. I. 67).

**अ प्रत्ययात् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्रत्ययात्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix 'a', the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called धातु (III. 1. 32), after these verbs the affix अ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ+सन्=चिकीर्ष् 'to wish to do ; this is a Derivative root; after this root चिकीर्ष्, we add अ। Thus चिकीर्ष्+अ (VI. 4. 48)=चिकीर्ष। Then we add टाप् by IV. 1. 4 and get चिकीर्षा 'the desire to do'; so also जिहीर्षा 'the desire to take'; पुत्रीया 'the desire to be like a son'; पुत्रकाम्या 'desire of a son'; लोलूया 'much cutting'; कण्डूया 'itch'. The sûtra is also found as अः प्रत्ययात्।

**गुरोश्च हलः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, च, हलः, (स्त्रियां, अ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तो यो धातुर्गुरुमान् ततः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix 'a' comes after that verb which has a prosodially heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debars क्तिन्। Thus कुण्डा 'an adulteress'; हुण्डा 'a tigress'; ईहा 'effort'; ऊहा 'supplying an ellipsis'.

Why do we say 'which has a prosodially heavy vowel'? Observe भक्ति 'devotion'. Why do we say 'which ends in a consonant'? Observe नीति 'polity'.

**षिद्भिदादिभ्योऽङ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ षित्, भिद्-आदिभ्यः, अङ्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ षिद्भ्यो भिदादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियामङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

104. The affix 'aṅ' comes after those verbs that have an indicatory 'sh', and after 'bhid' &c, when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus जॄष् has an indicatory ष्, the real root being जॄः। From it we have जरा 'old age' (VII. 4. 16); त्रपूष्—त्रपा 'bashfulness'.

So also from verbs of *Bhidâdi* class we have भिदा 'breaking'; in the alternative we have भित्तिः। So also छिदा 'cutting'; छित्तिः 'cutting'; आरा 'a knife, an

iron instrument'; आर्त्तिः 'distress'; धारा 'a stream'; भृत्तिः । The list of *Bhiddâdi* verbs will not be found given in one place in the *Dhatupâtha*. They have been collected from different *Ganas*, and are the following :—

भिदा, छिदा, विदा, क्षिपा, गुहा (गिर्योषध्योः), श्रद्धा, मेधा, गोधा, आरा, हारा, कारा, क्षिया, भारा, धारा, लेखा, रेखा, चूडा, पीडा, वपा, वसा, मृजा, सृजा, कृपा, (क्रपेः संप्रसारणं च) ॥

चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बिचर्चश्च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्ति-पूजि-कथि-कुम्बि-चर्चः, च, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्ति पूजि कथि कुम्बि चर्च एभ्यो धातुभ्यो युचि प्राप्ते स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'aṅ' as well as the affix 'yuch' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words:—'chint' (to think), 'pûj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of च is to include the affix युच् into this sûtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the *Churâdi* or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken युच् by III. 3. 107.

Thus चिन्ता 'thought'; पूजा 'worship'; कथा 'narration'; कुम्बा 'a covering', 'a thick petticoat'; चर्चा 'recitation'.

When the affix is युच्, the forms are चिन्तना &c. (VII. 1. 1).

आतश्चोपसर्गे ॥१०६॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रदन्तरोरुपसर्गवद्वृत्तिः ॥

106. The affix 'aṅ' comes after those verbs which end in long 'â' when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus प्रदा, प्रधा, उपदा, उपधा, &c.

*Vart.*—For the purposes of this rule the particles श्रत् and अन्तर् should be treated like upasargas. Thus श्रद्धा 'faith' अन्तर्द्धा (I. 4. 59).

ण्यासश्रन्थो युच् ॥१०७॥ पदानि ॥ णि-आस-श्रन्थः, युच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आसश्रन्थ इत्येताभ्यां च स्त्रियां युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घट्टिवन्दिविदिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इषेरनिच्छार्थस्य युज्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परेर्वा ॥

107. After verbs ending in 'ṇi', and after 'âs' (to sit) and 'śranth' (to loose), there is the affix 'yuch' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix अ (III. 1. 102). Thus कृ+णिच्=कारि; कारि+युच्=कारणा (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 51) 'the causing to do'; हारणा 'the causing to

take'; आसना 'the sitting'; श्रन्थना 'the loosening'. How do we get the form आस्या? It is the feminine of आस्य formed by adding ण्यत् to the root आस् by III. 1. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. 1. 94, which declares that वाऽसरूप rule does not apply to Feminine affixes? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase अस्त्रियाम् in III 1. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—"Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 9), क्यप् (III. 3. 98), अ (III. 3. 102): That is to say, an utsarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apavâda-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes *inter se* supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general कृत् affixes". Now by the present sûtra the root आस् takes युच्; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like अ (III. 1. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix ण्यत्।

The root श्रन्थ taken here belongs to the *Kryâdi* class, meaning 'to loosen' and is not the श्रन्थ of Churâdi class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the Churâdi class which class of verbs take the affix णिच्।

*Vart.*—The verbs घट्ट 'to move', वन्द् 'to praise', and विद् 'to feel', should also be enumerated, as taking युच्. Thus घट्टना 'shaking', वन्दना 'praising', वेदना 'knowledge, feeling, pain'. The verb घट्ट here belongs to the Tudâdi class, and means 'to move' and not घट्ट of the Churâdi class, for that is already included by being णिजन्त।

*Vart.*—The affix युच् comes after इष् when it does not mean 'to desire'. Thus अध्येषणा 'solicitation'; अन्वेषणा 'the searching after'.

*Vart.*—So also optionally when इष् takes the upasarga परि; as, पर्येषणा or परीष्टिः 'investigation by reasoning'.

**रोगाख्यायां ण्वुल्बहुलम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोग-आख्यायाम्, ण्वुल्, बहुलम् (स्त्रियाम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगाख्यायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्बहुलं ण्वुल्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धात्वर्थनिर्देशे ण्वुल्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इक्श्तिपौ धातुनिर्देशे इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्णात्कारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रादिफः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मत्वर्थाच्छः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इणजादिभ्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इक्कृष्यादिभ्यः ॥

108. The affix 'ṇvul' comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, begin the name of 'diseases'.

This debars क्तिन् and all the rest. By using the word आख्या in the sûtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appel lation of the disease. The word 'diversely' shows the usual licence in the application of all the rules of grammar. Thus प्रच्छर्दिका (VII. 1. 1) 'vomiting'; प्रवाहिका 'diarrhœa'; विचर्चिका 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as शिरोर्त्तिः 'head-ache'.

*Vart.*—The affix *nvul* is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, आशिका 'to enjoy', शायिका to 'lie down' &c.

*Vart.*—The affixes इक् and श्तिप् (that is श्प् and तिप्) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as भिदिः, छिदिः, पचतिः, पठतिः &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sûtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sûtra 49 of this chapter we have the root श्रि and यु exhibited as श्रयतिः and यौतिः। These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

*Vart.*—The affix कार is employed in merely pointing out letters; as ककारः means 'the letter क'; so also अकारः 'the letter अ'; इकारः 'the letter इ'।

*Vart.*—The affix इफ is employed in pointing out the letter र; as रेफ।

*Vart.*—The affix छ comes after the word मत्वर्थ in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final अ; as मत्वर्थीयः।

*Vart.*—The affix इञ् comes after the verbs भज &c; as भाजिः, भासिः, भाषिः।

*Vart.*—The affix इक् comes after the verbs कृष् &c; as, कृषिः, किरिः, &c.

**संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (ण्वुल्, स्त्रियाम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्ण्वुल्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix 'ṇvul' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As उद्दालकपुष्पभंजिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddâlaka flowers are broken or crushed'. वरणपुष्पप्रचायिका 'a sort of game'; अभ्यूषखादिका; आचोषखादिका; शालभंजिका; तालभंजिका।

**विभाषाख्यानपरिप्रश्नयोरिञ् च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आख्यान-परिप्रश्नयोः, इञ्, च, (ण्वुल्, स्त्रियां) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिप्रश्ने आख्याने च गम्यमाने धातोरिञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. And the affix 'iñ' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as well as 'ṇvul' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिप्रश्न means 'question' and आख्यान means 'answer'; in the sûtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound आख्यानपरिप्रश्न may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand first (II. 2. 34,) and hence *âkhyâna* is put first.

The force of च is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word ण्वुल् from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus: Q.—कां त्वं कारिमकार्षीः 'What work did you do'? A.—सर्वां कारिमकार्षम् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कारि the following also. Q.—कां कारिकां, कृत्यां, कृतिं, क्रियां, अकार्षीः A.—सर्वां कारिकां or कृत्यां or कृतिं or क्रियां अकार्षम्। Similarly, Q.—कां गणिं (गणनां, गणिकां &c.) अजीगणः A.—सर्वांगणिं &c. अजीगणम्. So also कां याजिम् or याजिकाम्; कां वाचिम् or वाचिकां &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer? Observe कृतिः and हृतिः।

## पर्यायार्हर्णोत्पत्तिषु ण्वुच् ॥११॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याय-अर्ह-ऋण-उत्पत्तिषु, ण्वुच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेष्वर्थेषु धातोर्ण्वुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'ṇvuch' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पर्याय means turn or order of succession; अर्ह means worthy of respect; ऋण means debt owed to another; and उत्पत्ति means birth or production. This rule supersedes क्तिन् and other affixes. Thus: (1) भवतः शायिका 'your turn of sleeping'; भवतोऽग्रग्रासिका 'your turn of eating first'. (2) अर्हति भवानिक्षुभक्षिकाम् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; ओदनभोजिका 'a meal of rice'; पयःपायिका 'a drink of milk'. (4) इक्षुभक्षिका मे उदपादि।

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sûtra also; as चिकीर्षोत्पद्यते।

The forms given by ण्वुल् and ण्वुच् are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. 1. 193, and VI. 1. 163).

## आक्रोशे नञ्यनिः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, नञि, अनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नञ्युपपदे धातोरनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix 'ani' comes after a verb when the particle 'nañ' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word आक्रोश means to curse. This supersedes the affixes क्तिन् &c. Thus अकरणिस्ते वृषल भूयात् 'may failure be to thee, O sinner'! तस्याकरणिरेवास्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe अकृतिस्तस्य कटस्य 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when नञ् is in composition'? Observe मृतिस्ते वृषल भूयात् 'may death be to thee, O! sinner'!

## कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, ल्युटः, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया ल्युट् च बहुलमर्थेषु भवन्ति ॥

113. The affixes called 'kritya' (III. 1. 95) and the affix 'lyuṭ', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvṛitti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sûtras III. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sûtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the *kritya* affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the *kâraka* is other than the objective. Thus स्नानीयं चूर्णम् 'powder for bathing'; दानीयो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brâhmaṇa' to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd. case, and in the second the 'Brâhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, ल्युट् is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजभोजनाः शालयः 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजाच्छादनानि वासांसि 'dresses to be worn by the 'king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the *krit* affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus पादाभ्याम् ह्रियते = पादहारकः । गले चोप्यते = गलेचोपकः । For accent see VI. 2. 150.

नपुंसके भावे क्तः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसके, भावे, क्तः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोः क्तः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

114. The affix 'kta' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns: thus, हसितम् 'laugh'; जल्पितं 'speech'; शायितं 'sleeping'. So also गतं, सहितं &c.

ल्युट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्युट्, च, (नपुंसके, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोर्ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. The affix 'lyuṭ' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus हसनं छात्रस्य 'the laughter of the student'; शोभनं 'beauty'; जल्पनं 'speech'; शयनं 'sleep'; आसनम् 'seat'.

The separation of this sûtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of *lyut* only runs, and not that of क्त ।

कर्मणि च येन संस्पर्शात् कर्तुः शरीरसुखम् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥

कर्मणि, च, येन, संस्पर्शात्, कर्तुः, शरीर-सुखम् (नपुंसके, भावे, ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन कर्मणा संस्पृश्यमानस्य कर्तुःशरीरसुखमुत्पद्यते तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदेधातोर्नपुंसकलिंगे भावे ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

116. The affix 'lyuṭ' is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates the thing, from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This sûtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix ल्युट् comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix *lyut* would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sûtra, the framing of this sûtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a नित्य or invariable compound *i. e.* a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every उपपद compound is a नित्य compound. (II. 2. 19) Thus पयः पानंसुखं 'the pleasure of drinking milk'; ओदनभोजनं सुखं 'the pleasure of eating rice'.

Why do we say 'when the word in construction is in the accusative case'? Observe तूलिकाया उत्थानं सुखं 'rising from a bed of down is pleasant'. Here there is no compounding as the upapada तूलिका is in the ablative case.

Why do we say 'from the contact'? Observe अग्निकुंडस्योपासनं सुखं 'it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth'. Here there being no contact between 'fire' and 'body', there is no compounding.

Why do we say 'to the agent'? Observe गुरोः स्नापनं सुखं 'to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe'. Here the word गुरुः is not the agent, but the object of the verb स्नापयति ।

Why do we say 'corporally'? Observe पुत्रस्य परिष्वञ्जनं सुखम् 'embracing of the son is a pleasure'. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say 'a pleasant sensation'? Observe कंटकानां मर्दनं दुःखम् 'it is painful to rub thorns'. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sûtras.

करणाधिकरणयोश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करण-अधिकरणयोः, च, (ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणेऽधिकरणे च कारके धातोर्ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix 'lyuṭ' comes after a root, when

the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus इध्मप्रव्रश्चन: 'an axe' (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); पलाशशातन: 'palâsa-cutter'; गोदोहनी 'a milk-pail' (a vessel into which milk is milked); so also सक्तुधानी। In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

**पुंसि संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसि, संज्ञायाम्, घः, प्रायेण, (करणाधिकरणयोः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंल्लिङ्गयोः करणाधिकरणयोरभिधेययोर्धातोर्घः प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

118. The affix 'gha' generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the masculine gender.

The force of the word प्रायेण 'generally' is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus दन्तच्छद: 'the lip'. छादि 'to cover' + घ(VI. 4. 96) = छद lit. 'that by which the teeth are covered'; so also उरच्छद 'a breast plate'; पट:। These denote instruments.

So also in denoting 'location'. Thus आ + कृ + घ = आकर: 'a mine', so named because men work *(akurvanti)* in it, आलय: 'a house' that in which men settle down.

Why do we say 'in the masculine gender'? Observe प्रसाधनम् 'a comb'; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is *lyut.*

Why do we say 'when the complete word so formed is merely an appellative? Observe प्रहरणो दण्ड: 'the beating stick'.

The indicatory घ् is merely qualifying; for the application of sûtra VI. 4. 96. by which after the causative छादि, when घ is added, the long आ is shortened.

**गोचरसंचरवहव्रजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोचर-संचर-वह-व्रज-व्यज-आपण-निगमाः, च (घः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गोचरादयः शब्दा घप्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते पूर्वस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

119. And the words 'gochara', 'saṁchara', 'vaha' 'vraja', 'vyaja', 'âpaṇa' and 'nigama' are anomalous.

These words are irregularly formed by the affix घ with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an *apavâda* or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix घञ् is added. Thus गोचर: 'pasturage', (lit. that in which the cows graze); संचर: 'a passage', (lit. through which they move); वह: 'a vehicle' (lit. by which men are carried); व्रज: 'a cow-pen' (by which they go); व्यज: 'a fan' (by which they move the air); the anomaly

in this consists in not replacing the अज् of व्यज् (वि+अज्) by the substitute वी as required by sûtra II. 4. 56; आपण 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and *traffic*); निगम: 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they *enter*).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus कष:, निकष: 'a touch-stone' (lit. that on which they rub).

अवे तॄस्त्रोर्घञ् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, तॄ-स्त्रोः, घञ्, (करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उपपदे तरतेस्तृणातेश्च धातोः करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायां घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'tṛî' (to cross) and 'stṛî' (to spread), when the upasarga 'ava' is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes घ । The ञ् is indicatory and causes the vṛiddhi of ॠ (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicatory घ् is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus अवतार: 'the descent (or incarnation of a diety); अवस्तार: 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply अवतार also in phrases like अवतारो नद्या: 'the descent of rivers', for here the word *avatâra* is not an appellative ? This use is also allowed, because the anuvṛitti of the word प्राय is understood here also ; so that these words *avatâra* &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलश्च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, (पुंसि, संज्ञायां, करणाधिकरणयोः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताद्धातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghañ',(when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and thereby the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sûtra from sûtra III. 3. 118. This excludes घ. Thus लेख: 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed) ; वेद: 'the Veda' (that by which all is known) ; वेष: 'dress' (that which is *entered into*); बन्ध: 'obstruction' ; मार्ग: 'a way' (that on which they seek); अपामार्ग: 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away) ; राम: 'Râma' (*i. e.* in which the devout delight).

अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्याय-न्याय-उद्याव-संहार-आधार-आवायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यायादयः शब्दा घञन्ता निपात्यन्ते ॥

122. And the words 'adhyâya', 'nyâya', 'udyâva', 'saṁhâra', 'âdhâra' and âvâya' are anomalous.

These words are formed by adding the affix घञ् to the exclusion of घ which would have come by rule III. 3. 118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus अधि+इ+घञ्=अध्यायः 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी—न्यायः 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are *lead*); उत्-यु—उद्यावः 'mixture' (lit. that in which they *blend*); सम्-हृ—संहारः 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); आ-धृ—आधारः 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); आ-वि—आवायः = आवयन्ति अस्मिन् ।

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, अवहारः।

## उदङ्कोऽनुदके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदङ्कः, अनुदके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदङ्क इति निपात्यते अनुदक विषयश्चेद् धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

123. The word 'udaṅka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: उत्+अंच+घञ्=उदङ्कः 'a vessel'.

Would not the affix घञ् have come by sûtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water'.

Thus तैलोदङ्कः 'a leathern vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe उदकोदंचनः 'a bucket for drawing water' (उद्+अञ्च+ल्युट्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix घ to the root उदंच्? Because the form evolved by applying घ, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by घञ्; even the accent would be the same. For by sûtra VI. 2. 144, the udâtta accent, in the case of घञ्, will fall on the final.

## जालमानायः ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जालम्, आनायः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय इति निपात्यते जालं चेत्तद्भवति ॥

124. The word 'ânâya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ+नी+घञ्= आनायः 'a net' (by which they are caught); as आनायो मत्स्यानां 'a net for fish'; आनायो मृगाणाम् 'a net for wild deer &c'.

## खनो घ च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खनः, घ, च, (करणाधिकरणे, घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनतेर्धातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घः प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् घञ् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डरो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इको वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकवको वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), (when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location).

The affix घञ् has been read into the sûtra by force of the word च। Thus आखानः or आखनः 'a spade, a hoe'.

*Vart.*—The affix ड also comes in this sense after the verb खन्. Thus आखन्+ड=आखः 'a spade'. The indicatory ड् showing that the final portion called टि should be elided.

*Vart.*—The affix डर also comes in the same sense; as आखरः 'a spade'.

*Vart.*—So also the affix इक:; as आखनिकः 'a spade'.

*Vart.*—So too the affix इकवक as आखनिकवकः 'a spade'.

ईषद्दुःसुषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु खल् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-सुषु, कृच्छ्र-अकृच्छ्र-अर्थेषु, खल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषत् दुस् सु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु धातोः खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. In the sense of 'hard and difficult' or 'light and easy', the affix 'khal' is added to a verb, when 'îshad', and 'dur' and 'su' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvritti of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word कृच्छ्र means heavy, and दुर् has the force of conveying that sense. The word अकृच्छ्र means 'light, easy'; and the words ईषत् and सु convey that sense. Thus ईषत्करो भवता कटः 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also दुष्करः 'made with difficulty'; सुकरः 'made with ease'. Similarly ईषद्भोजः 'eating pleasantly'; दुर्भोजः and सुभोजः।

Why do we say 'after ईषत् &c.? See कृच्छ्रेण कार्यः कटः 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light'? Observe ईषत्कार्यं 'a small work'.

Of the affix खल्, the letter ख and ल् are indicatory; ख causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called मुम् augment, VI. 3. 67); and ल् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment मुम् will be added in the subsequent sûtra, the ख thus having no work in this sûtra.

कर्तृकर्मणोश्च भूकृञोः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः, च, भू-कृञोः, (ईषद्-दुः-सुषु, खल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेः करोतेश्च धातोर्यथासंख्यं कर्तरि कर्मणि चोपपदे चकारादीषदादिषु च खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोश्च्व्यर्थयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhû' and 'kṛi', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'îshad' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus ईषदाढ्यंभवं 'being enriched easily'; दुराढ्यंभवम् 'to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वाढ्यंकरो देवदत्तो भवता 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

*Vart.*—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix च्वि (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III. 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here: स्वाढ्येन भूयते or आढ्येन सुभूयते ॥

आतो युच् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युच्, (ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु ईषदादिषूपपदेषु आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'â', (when 'îshad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty).

The word ईषत् &c. are to be read into this sûtra, not so the words कर्तृकर्मणोः &c. This supersedes the affix खल्. Thus ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; दुष्पानः 'difficult to be drunk'; सुपानः 'easy to be drunk'. ईषद्दानो गौर्भवता 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; दुर्दानः, सुदानः &c.

छन्दसि गत्यर्थेभ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, गति-अर्थेभ्यः, (ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदादिषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषूपपदेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'yuch' comes in the Chhandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'îshad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debars the affix खल्. Thus सूपसदनोऽग्निः । सूपसदनमन्तरिक्षम् । See T.S. 7. 5. 20. 1.

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते, (गत्यर्थेभ्यः, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्यो गत्यर्थेभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये युच् प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां शासियुधिदृशिधृषिमृषिभ्यो युच् वक्तव्यः ॥

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after other verbs also, than those meaning 'to go'.

Thus सुदोह नाम कृणोत् ब्रह्मणे गां ; so also सुदेव नाम कृणोत् ब्रह्मणे गां ॥ (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

*Vart.*—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix '*yuch*' comes after the verbs शास्, युध्, दृश्, धृष्, and मृष्; as दुःशासनः 'Duhsâsana'; दुर्योधनः 'Duryodhana'; दुर्दर्शनः, दुर्धर्षणः and दुर्मर्षणः ।

**वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमान-सामीप्ये, वर्तमान-वत्, वा, (भूते, भविष्यति) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्त्तमानसमीपे भूते भविष्यति च वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्वर्त्तमानवत्प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words समीप and सामीप्य are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix ष्यञ्. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Pâṇini's using the word सामीप्य, that the affix ष्यञ् also comes with a self-descriptive (svârtha) force, and the words चातुर्वर्ण्यं: &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with sûtra III. 2. 123 (वर्तमाने लट्) and end with III. 3. 1 (उणादय बहुलं,) are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question कदा देवदत्तागतोसि 'when didst thou come Devadatta', it may be replied, either अयमागच्छामि 'I come now', or आगच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि 'know me even to have come'; or अयमागमम् 'I have now come'; or एषोस्म्यागतः 'I have come now'. So also to the question कदा देवदत्त गमिष्यसि 'when will you go Devadatta', it may be replied, either एष गच्छामि 'I go now' or गच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि or एष गमिष्यामि or गन्तास्मि &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (वत्) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (प्रकृति), and words in compositions (उपपद), and restrictive significations (उपाधि), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and those circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus शानन् by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakritis पू and यज् in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after पू and यज्, and so on. Thus पवमानः, यजमानः, अलंकरिष्णुः (III. 2. 136) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (सामीप्य)'? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.

As परह्यः अगच्छत् पाटलिपुत्रम् 'he went day before yesterday to Pâtaliputra'; वर्षेण गमिष्यति 'he will go in a year'.

One may say that "the word गच्छामि can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense ; and hence the present sûtra is superfluous". To such we reply that the present sûtra and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit language; but for those only who do not know this.

Dr. Bohtlingk translates this sûtra thus:—'Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense.

आशंसायां भूतवच्च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसायाम्, भूतवत्, च, (भविष्यति, वर्तमानवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्वा भूतवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकाराद् वर्त्तमानवच्च ॥

132. The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed.

The word 'optionally' is understood here also. The phrase 'not remote from the present' is not valid in this aphorism. The word आशंसा means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of च is to draw the word वर्त्तमानवत् from the last sûtra in this aphorism. This sûtra has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—"When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (लुङ्), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागमत् or आगतः, or आगच्छति or आगमिष्यति वा एते व्याकरणमध्यगीष्महि, or अधीतवन्तः or अधीमहे or अध्येष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by लुङ् (Aorist); and not by लङ् or लिट्. For लुङ् denotes past time in general, while लङ् and लिट् denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase भूतवत् making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to लिट् or लङ् which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe आगमिष्यति 'he will come'.

क्षिप्रवचने लृट् ॥१३३॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिप्र-वचने, लृट्, (आशंसायां)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षिप्रवचन उपपदे आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lriṭ' is employed after the root, when 'hope' is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future can only be employed. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेत्क्षिप्रमागमिष्यति (or उपाध्यायश्चेदागतः—*Apte.*) क्षिप्रं व्याकरणमध्येष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar'.

By force of the word वचन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of क्षिप्र also, such as शीघ्रं, आशु, त्वरितम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word लृट् in the sûtra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever *hope* is indicated. Sûtra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sûtra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus;— न क्षिप्रवचने 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debarring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express *hope*". To them we say, that there are two future tenses, लृट् and लुट्। By specifying लृट् we mean that लुट् should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:—श्वः क्षिप्रमध्येष्यामहे 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

आशंसावचने लिङ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसा-वचने, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशंसा येनोच्यते तदाशंसावचनं तस्मिन्नुपपदे धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in den oting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing 'hope'.

This is also an *apavâda* of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छेत्, आशंसे युक्तोऽधीयीय 'if the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence'. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of 'quickness' are in composition. Thus आशंसे क्षिप्रमधीयीय 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, अवकल्पये युक्तोऽधीयीय, &c.

नानद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अनद्यतन-वत्, क्रिया-प्रबन्ध-सामीप्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति क्रियाप्रबन्धे सामीप्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15, through

the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes लङ् (Imperfect Past) and लुट् (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sûtra prohibits these two affixes. The word क्रियाप्रबन्ध: means 'performing an action with continuity'; and सामीप्य means 'not remoteness of time, immediateness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus'. Thus यावज्जीवं भृशमन्नमदात् (not अददात्) 'he gave food throughout his life'; or भृशमन्नं दास्यति 'he will give much food'. यावज्जीवं पुत्रोऽध्यापिपत् 'throughout his life he taught', or यावज्जीवमध्यापयिष्यति 'throughout his life he will teach'. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus येयं पौर्णमास्यतिक्रान्ता, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोऽग्नीनाधित or सोमेनायष्ट or गामदित 'during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow'. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. येयममावास्याऽऽगामिनी, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोऽग्नीनाधास्यते or सोमेन यक्ष्यते, or स गां दास्यते 'on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire-sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow'. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative न अनद्यतन 'not non-today' implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

भविष्यति मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, (नानद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् प्रविभागेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति ॥

136. The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III. 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase नानद्यतनवत् is valid in this sûtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, 'continuity of action' and 'immediateness', however, do not apply here. Thus योऽयमध्वागन्तव्य आपाटलिपुत्रात्तस्य यदवरं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे, तत्र सक्तून्पास्यामः 'on this side of the road from the city of Kosâmbi to the city of Pâtaliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu'.

Why do we say 'in denoting future time'? Observe योऽयमध्वागत आपाटलिपुत्रात् तस्य यदवरं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्यैमहि 'on this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosâmbi to the city of Pâtaliputra, we read together &c.

Why do we say 'when signifying limit'? Observe योऽयमध्वा निरवधिक

गन्तव्यस्तस्य यदवरं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्रौदनं भोक्तास्महे, सक्तून् पातास्मः । Here the First Future is employed.

Why do we say 'when the word अवर is in construction'? Observe योऽयमध्वागन्तव्य आपाटलिपुत्रात् तस्य यत्परं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्रौदनं भोक्तास्महे &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit; in the subsequent sûtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

**कालविभागे चानहोरात्राणाम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-विभागे, च, न-अहः-रात्राणाम्, (भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, च, अनद्यतनवत्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सत्यवरस्मिन्विभागे भविष्यति कालेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न चेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी विभागस्तेषां च विभागे प्रतिषेधः ॥

137. The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word 'avara' is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of 'day' or 'night'.

The whole of the last sûtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sûtra is, that sûtra III. 3. 136 referred both to the limit of *space* and *time*, while sûtra III. 3. 137 refers to the limit of *time* only; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions of day and night. The *yoga-vibhâga*, the separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तस्य यदवरमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येष्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together'; तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे 'we shall eat rice then &c'.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: योऽयं वत्सरोऽतीतस्तस्य यदवरमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येमहि 'in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we *read* together'; तत्रौदनमभुञ्ज्महि 'we *ate* together &c'.

Why do we say 'limit'? Observe योऽयं निरवधिकः काल आगामी तस्य यदवरमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येतास्महे — तत्रौदनं भोक्तास्महे ।

The limit must be 'on this side *i. e.* अवर side'. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sûtra.

Why do we say 'when not divisions of day and night'? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case; as, योऽयं मास आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रः or योऽयं त्रिंशद्रात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरोऽर्द्धमासः or योऽयं त्रिंशदहोरात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रस्तत्र युक्ता अध्येतास्महे तत्र सक्तून् पातास्मः । Here Luṭ or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.

परस्मिन् विभाषा ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मिन्, विभाषा, (भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, कालविभागे, अनहोरात्राणाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सति भविष्यति काले परस्मिन् प्रविभागे विभाषाऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न चेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी प्रविभागः ॥

138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made with regard to that side of a limit of time.

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: The sûtra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word पर is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of day or night".

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the पर side of a starting limit. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तस्य यत् परमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येष्यामहे or अध्येतास्महे 'we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next'.

All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word पर instead of अवर.

लिङ् निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रिया-अतिपत्तौ, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङित्येवमादिकं लिङो निमित्तं, तत्र लिङ् निमित्ते भविष्यति काले लृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्याम् ॥

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ' the affix 'Lṛiṅ' is employed in the Future tense when the non-completion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for affix लिङ् are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sûtra III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लृङ् is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—*Apte's Guide.*

Thus सुवृष्टिश्चेदभविष्यत् तदा सुभिक्षमभविष्यत् 'if there had been good rain, then there would have been plenty of food; or if there were to be good rain then there would be plenty of food'. It is implied that there was not good rain, nor consequent plenty: or that the occurrence of good rain is dubious, and the desirable consequence equally so.

So also here, दक्षिणेन चेदायास्यत्र शकटं पर्याभविष्यत् 'if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् आह्वास्यन् न शकटं

पर्याभविष्यत् 'if he were to call Kamalaka (which he will not), the carriage would not be upset'; अभोक्ष्यत भवान् घृतेन यदि मत्समीपम् आगमिष्यत् 'you would eat food with clarified butter, if you (were to) come to me (but you will not come).

All these sentences refer to future time. The non-upsetting is a future contingency and is an effect the cause of which is the 'calling of Kamalaka. The speaker—having apprehended the cause and effect, and having also learned from other sources that such an effect will not take place, that is to say, that Kamalaka will not be called, and the carriage will be upset—has employed this conditional tense to express his idea. The whole sentence यदि कमलकम् &c. really gives this sense:—That both actions, 'the calling' and 'the non-upsetting', which are subjects of a future time, and which are related as cause and effect, will not be completed; that neither Kamalaka will be called, nor the impending fate averted from the carriage. The sûtra may also be thus rendered according to Professor Bohtlingk:—In a conditional sentence, which would require a Potential according to III. 3. 156, is used, if the sense is that of Future time, the Conditional Tense, when the action is not complete.

भूते च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, च, (लिङ्निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रियातिपत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूते च काले लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्याम् लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. And (where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ', the affix 'Lṛiṅ' is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sûtra enjoined लृङ् in the Future tense; this sûtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing लिङ् are given in sûtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sûtra III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—दृष्टो मया भवत्पुत्रोऽन्नार्थी चङ्क्रम्यमाणः अपरश्च द्विजो ब्राह्मणार्थी, यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत्, तदाऽभोक्ष्यत, न तु भुक्तवान्, अन्येन पथा स गतः। 'I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brâhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice-born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road'.

The conditional sentence यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत् तदाऽभोक्ष्यत is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.

**वोताप्योः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आ-उताप्योः, (भूते, लिङ्निमित्ते, क्रियातिपत्तौ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङिति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मात् सूत्रावधेर्यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः, तत्र भूते लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ लृङ् वा भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

141. From this point as far as sûtra III. 3. 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the sûtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ', the 'Lṛiṅ may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous sûtras to complete the sense. This sûtra consists of three words वा 'optionally', आ 'as far as' and उताप्योः (the sûtra III. 3 152). The words वा+आ+उ form वो by the rules of conjunction. The particle आ in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The *optional* use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohtlingk translates this aphorism thus: "optionally so, in connection with उत and अपि, the conditional tense may be employed".

**गर्हायां लडपिजात्वोः॥१४२॥ पदानि॥ गर्हायां, लट्, अपिजात्वोः॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्हायां गम्यमानायाम् अपिजात्वोरुपपदयोर्धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix 'Laṭ' is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it the words 'api' or jâtu', the sense implied by the sentence being that of 'censure'.

The word गर्हा means 'censure, 'blame'. The affix लट् has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general, which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present sûtra.

Thus अपि तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयति 'even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sûdra'; जातु तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयति गर्हामहे, अहो अन्याय्यमेतत् 'possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sûdra'; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of लिङ्, of course, we cannot employ लृङ् to denote the non-completion of the action

So also अपि or जातु जायां त्यजसि 'Fie! you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife'!

**विभाषा कथमि लिङ् च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कथमि, लिङ्, च, (गर्हायां, लट्, वोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कथंशब्द उपपदे गर्हायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्लट् च ॥

143. The affix 'Liṅ' as well as 'Laṭ' is optionally employed after a root, when the word 'katham' is in construction with it, and censure is implied.

The word 'censure' is understood, and by च we draw लट् from the previous sûtra into this. By using the word 'optionally' in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयति or याजयिष्यति 'Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

So also कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयिता, अयाजयत् or याजयांचकार ।

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (लिङ्); therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can *optionally* employ the Conditional also (लृङ्). As कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलम् अयाजयिष्यत् or याजयेत् 'Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sûdra (in vain)'.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (लृङ्) must *invariably* be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कथं धर्मम् अत्यक्ष्यः 'why will you (attempt to) give up your duty'.

**किंवृत्ते लिङ्लृटौ ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिङ्-लृटौ, (गर्हायाम्, वोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे गर्हायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

144. The affixes 'Liṅ' and 'Lṛit' come after a verb, when the interrogative words like 'kim' &c, are in composition with it, and censure is implied.

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word 'censure' is understood here; not so, however, the word 'optionally'. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word लिङ् in this sûtra, is for the sake of excluding लट्, whose anuvṛitti would also have run into this sûtra, had we taken the anuvṛitti of लिङ् from the last sûtra, instead of repeating it. Thus कः कतरो वा हरिं निन्देत्, निन्दिष्यति वा 'who will censure Hari?

In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृङ्); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as को नाम वृषलो यं तत्र भवानयाजयिष्यत् 'who is the Sûdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)'. This sûtra may be rendered thus also:—" In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future".

**अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनवक्लृप्ति-अमर्षयोः, अकिंवृत्ते, अपि, (किंवृत्ते, लिङ्लृटौ, वोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तेऽकिंवृत्ते चोपपदेऽनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोर्धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'censure' ceases. The word अनवक्लृप्तिः means 'impossibility, not to be believed'. The word अमर्षः means 'not endurable or not to be tolerated'. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd. Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोः, the word अनवक्लृप्ति ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word अमर्ष (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of यथासंख्यं, (I. 3. 10) does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sûtra then being 'that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd. Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated'. This is not, however, the interpretation which we should put upon the sûtra.

Thus नावकल्पयामि, न संभावयामि, न श्रद्दधे, तत्र भवान् नाम वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयिष्यति 'I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sûdra'. न मर्षयामि तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् or याजयिष्यति 'I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may *optionally* employ the Conditional (लृङ्), but *necessarily* so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नावकल्पयामि तत्रभवान् नाम वृषलम् अयाजयिष्यत् 'I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

**किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंकिल-अस्त्यर्थेषु, लृट्, (अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषूपपदेषु अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोर्धातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'Lṛit' (the First Future) is used after a root, when the words 'kiṁkila' or those having the sense of 'asti' (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The words within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किंकिल is to be taken as an upapada and not the word किं and किल separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of *asti* are अस्ति, भवति and विद्यते। This rule supersedes the Potential (लिङ्). Thus किंकिल or अस्ति or भवति or विद्यते नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयिष्यति, न मर्षयामि, न श्रद्दधे 'Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sûdra? I cannot believe or tolerate it'.

As there is no occasion for लिङ् here, we cannot have the Conditional (लृङ्) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न श्रद्दधे न मर्षये वा किंकिल त्वं शूद्रान्नम् भोक्ष्यसे 'I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sûdra'; अस्ति भवति विद्यते वा शूद्रीं गमिष्यसि 'Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sûdra'.

जातुयदोर्लिङ् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु-यदोः, लिङ्, (अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु यदि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोरनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोर्गम्यमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जातुयदोर्लिङ्विधाने यदायद्योरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

147. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a root, the words 'jâtu' and 'yat' being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or 'Lṛit'. जातु तत्र भवान् वृषलम् याजयेत्, or यन्नाम तत्र भवान् वृषलम् याजयेत्, न श्रद्दधे, न मर्षयामि।

*Vart.*—The words यदा and यदि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and यत् in this rule. As यदा or यदि वा त्वादृशो हरिं निन्देन्नावकल्पयामि न मर्षयामि 'neither do I think, nor do I tolerate that one like you should blaspheme Hari'.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (लृङ्) is *necessarily* employed in denoting future time, and *optionally* so in denoting past time. As जातु, यत्, यदा or यदि त्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् or अनिन्दिष्यत् नावकल्पयामि, न मर्षयामि वा 'neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari'. यदि सुरभिमवाप्स्यस्तन्मुखोच्छ्वासगन्धम् तव रतिरभविष्यत् पुण्डरीके किमस्मिन् 'if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus'?

**यच्चयत्रयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यच्च-यत्रयोः, (अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोः, लिङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोरनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोर्गम्यमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. Thus यच्च यत्र वा त्वमेवं कुर्याः न श्रद्दधे, न मर्षयामि 'I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so'.

The Conditional (लृङ्) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

**गर्हायां च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायाम्, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति गर्हायाम् गम्यमानायाम् ॥

149. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root in all tenses when the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words *anavaklipti* and *amarsha* ceases. This debars all other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् ज्यायान् वृद्धः सन् ब्राह्मणः, गर्हामहे, अहो अन्याय्यमेतत् 'we blame you who being an opulent, old Brâhmaṇa (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sûdra, O! It is improper'!

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As यच्च or यत्र त्वं हरिं निन्देः or अनिन्दिष्यः, गर्हामहे 'we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari', &c.

**चित्रीकरणे च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्रीकरणे, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्रयोरुपपदयोश्चित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix 'Lin' comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' and the sense implied is that of 'wonder'.

The word चित्रीकरणं means 'wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c'. This debars all the other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् आश्चर्यमेतत् 'this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं याजयेः or अयाजयिष्यः 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sûdra'; आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं अयाजयिष्यः 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sûdra perform a sacrifice.

शेषे लृडयदौ ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लृट्, अयदौ, (चित्रीकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषेऽपपदे चित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति यदिशब्दश्चेन्न प्रयुज्यते ॥

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than 'yachcha' and 'yatra', the affix 'Lṛiṭ' is employed after a root, except when the word 'yadi' is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words यच्च or यत्र are not employed, as well as where the word यदि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आश्चर्यं, चित्रं, अद्भुतम् अन्धो नाम पर्वतमारोक्ष्यति, बधिरो नाम व्याकरणम् अध्येष्यते 'it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar'.

Not so, when the word यदि is employed. Thus आश्चर्यं यदि सोऽधीयीत 'a wonder, if he study'. आश्चर्यं यदि स भुञ्जीत 'a wonder, if he eat'.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potential, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sûtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत-अप्योः, समर्थयोः, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत अपि इत्येतयोः समर्थयोरुपपदयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

152. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words 'uta' and 'api', both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to उत and अपि is that of बाढम् 'assuredly, certainly, surely, really'. Thus उत कुर्यात् 'certainly he does'; अपि कुर्यात् 'assuredly he does'; उताधीयीत 'certainly he studies (will study &c)'; अप्यधीयीत 'surely he studies &c'.

Why do we say 'when they mean certainly'? Observe उत दण्डः पतिष्यति 'will the stick fall'? अपि द्वारं धास्यति 'he shuts the door'. Here उत is employed in asking questions, and अपि with धा means 'to shut'. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (लृङ्) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of लिङ् (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, लृङ्

must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but लृङ् *must* be employed where sûtras III. 3. 139 and 140 require it.

**कामप्रवेदनेऽकच्चिति ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम-प्रवेदने, अकच्चिति, (लिङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ काम इच्छाभिलाष इत्यर्थान्तरम्, तस्य प्रवेदनं प्रकाशनम्, तस्मिन् गम्यमानेऽकच्चिदुपपदे धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

153. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word 'kachchit' is in composition with it.

The phrase कामप्रवेदन means the expression of one's wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कामो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् = अभिलाषो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् 'it is my wish that you will eat'.

Why do we say 'except the word कच्चित्'? Observe कच्चिज्जीवति ते माता कच्चिज्जीवति ते पिता। माराविद त्वां पृच्छामि कच्चिज्जीवति पार्वती॥ 'I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living, I ask thee, O mârâvid! (Parrot), I hope that Pârvati is living'.

**संभावनेऽलमिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संभावने, अलम्, इति, चेत्, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगे, (लिङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ संभावनं, क्रियासु योग्यताध्यवसानं शक्तिश्रद्धानम्, तदिदानीमलमर्थेन विशेष्यते, तच्चेत् संभावनं पर्याप्तमवितथं भवति, सिद्धाप्रयोग इत्यलमो विशेषणं, सिद्धश्चेदलमोऽप्रयोगः, कथासौ सिद्धः, यत्र गम्यते चार्थो न चासौ प्रयुज्यते, तदीदृशे सम्भावनोपाधिकेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'Liṅ' is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than 'alam'.

The word लिङ् is understood here. The word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलं. The word अलं means 'adequate'; so that the above-mentioned संभावनं must be completed, full and true *i. e.* realised. The phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे qualifies अलं, and means 'if the non-employment or omission of अलं is valid or unobjectionable. When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलं is implied by the sentence, but this word itself is not used? The Potential Mood is employed when the expectation is of the kind above described. This rule debars all other tense-affixes. Thus अपि पर्वतं शिरसा भिन्द्यात् 'I expect he will break even the hill with his head'; अपि द्रोणपाकं भुञ्जीत 'I expect you will eat away even a *drona* of cooked food'.

Why do we use the word अलं 'competent to do'? Observe, विदेशस्थायी

देवदत्त प्रायेण गमिष्यति ग्रामम् 'I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country'. Here though expectation' is expressed the idea conveyed by अलं, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, अलं देवदत्तो हस्तिनं हनिष्यति 'Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also'.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (लृङ्) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohtlingk translates the sûtra thus: "The Potential is employed when it is expressed that some one is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place'.

**विभाषा धातौ सम्भावनवचनेऽयदि ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धातौ, सम्भावन-वचने, अयदि, (संभावने, अलमिति, चेत्, सिद्धाप्रयोगे, लिङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्भावनवचने धातावुपपदे यच्छब्दवर्जिते धातोर्विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix 'Liṅ' is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses 'expectation', in construction with it, but not so when the word 'yat' is used.

The whole of the last sûtra qualifies this sûtra; the 'expectation' indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last sûtra and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an 'expectation' is expressed such as संभावये अपि, or अपिनाम, is called संभावन-वचन. This sûtra enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus सम्भावयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I expect you will eat'; अवकल्पयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I hope you will eat'; श्रद्दधे भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I believe you will eat'. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यत् is employed. As सम्भावयामि यद् भुञ्जीत भवान् 'I expect you will eat'.

The sûtra may also be rendered thus. "The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of 'to hold as possible', but not when यत् is employed."

**हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-हेतुमतोः, लिङ् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभूते हेतुमति चार्थे वर्त्तमानाद् धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix 'Liṅ' is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and its consequence.

The word हेतु means 'cause or 'condition' and हेतुमत् means consequence or effect'. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, 'in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the *protasis* (हेतु) and *apodosis* (हेतुमत्), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it'. Thus:—दक्षिणेन चेद्यायान्न शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् आह्वयेन्न शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the *protasis* (हेतु), and 'not-upsetting' the *apodosis* (हेतुमत्).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus दक्षिणेन चेद् यास्यति न शकटं पर्याभविष्यति 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word विभाषा 'optionally' used in the sûtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the anuvṛitti of लिङ् could have been taken from the last aphorisms, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: हन्तीति पलायते 'he kills, therefore he flies'; वर्षति इति धावति 'it rains, therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (लृङ्) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sûtra III. 3. 139.

**इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेषु, लिङ्-लोटौ ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषूपपदेषु धातोर्लिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कामप्रवेदनइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

157. The affixes 'Liṅ' and 'Loṭ' are employed after a root, when another verb having the sense of 'wishing, is in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing 'wish', such as इष्, कम्, प्रार्थ &c, are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus इच्छामि कामये or प्रार्थये भुञ्जीत भवान् or भुङ्क्तां भवान् 'I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat'.

*Vart.*—It is only when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb 'to wish' or its synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are not used here: इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'.

The sûtra may be rendered thus: 'In connection with a verb in the sense of 'wishing' the Potential or the Imperative may be employed'.

समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकेषु, तुमुन्, (इच्छार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषु समानकर्तृकेषूपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

158. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb, when another verb meaning 'to wish' is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus इच्छति, वष्टि or वांछति भोक्तुम् 'he desires to eat'; कामयते भोक्तुम् 'he wishes to eat'; पिनाकपाणिं पतिम् आप्तुम् इच्छति 'desires to obtain for her husband the Pinâka-handed God Siva'.

But why do we say 'when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same'? We can not say देवदत्तं भोक्तुम् इच्छति यज्ञदत्तः 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of भुज् and इष् are not the same. We must say, भुञ्जानम् instead of भोक्तुम् ।

Why do not we use it here:—इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in तुम् is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

लिङ् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, (इच्छार्थेषु, समानकर्तृकेषु)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु समानकर्तृकेषु धातुषूपपदेषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix 'Liṅ' is used after a verb when verbs meaning 'to wish' are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying 'wish', the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus भुञ्जीय इति इच्छति 'he wishes that he may eat'; अधीयीयेतीच्छति 'he wishes that he will read'.

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेभ्यो विभाषा वर्तमाने ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेभ्यः, विभाषा, वर्तमाने, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वर्तमाने काले विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. After roots meaning 'to wish', the Potential (Liṅ) is optionally used in denoting the present time.

This ordains लिङ् where there would have been otherwise लट्. Thus इच्छति or इच्छेत् 'he wishes'; वष्टि or उश्यात्; कामयते or कामयेत ।

विधिनिमन्त्रणामन्त्रणाधीष्टसंप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधि-निमंत्रण-आमंत्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विध्यादिष्वर्थेषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

**161. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.**

The word विधि: means 'commanding or directing a subordinate'; निमन्त्रणं means 'giving invitation'; आमन्त्रणं means 'expressing permission to do as one likes'; अधीष्ट: means 'to politely express a wish'; सम्प्रश्न: means 'a question'; and प्रार्थना means 'a prayer'.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus :—

(1) कटं कुर्यात् 'let him make the mat'; ग्रामम् भवान् आगच्छेत् 'you come to the village';

(2 and 3) इह भवान् भुञ्जीत 'you will or may dine here'; इह भवान् आसीत 'here you will or may sit';

(4) अधीच्छामो भवन्तं माणवकं भवानुपनयेत 'we wish that you should condescend to initiate this boy';

(5) किं भो व्याकरणमधीयीय उत तर्कम् ? 'Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic'?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणं अधीयीय 'this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar'.

**लोट् च ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च, (विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमंत्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति धातोर्विध्यादिष्वर्थेषु ॥

**162. The affix 'Loṭ' also is employed after a root in the sense of commanding, &c.**

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent sûtras in which the anuvṛitti of लोट् only runs and not those of others. Thus :—

(1) कटं तावद् भवान् करोतु 'make the mat'; ग्रामं भवान् आगच्छतु ।

(2 and 3) अमुत्र भवान् आस्ताम् 'there you are invited to, or you may, sit'.

(4) पुत्रम्भवान् अध्यापयतु 'you will teach, I hope, the son'.

(5) किं भो वेदमध्ययै उत तर्कं 'Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic'?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणमध्ययै छन्दोऽध्ययै 'this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody'.

**प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याश्च ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रैष-अतिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, च, (लोट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषणं प्रैषः, कामचाराभ्यनुज्ञानमतिसर्गः, निमित्तभूतस्य कालस्यावसरः प्राप्तकालः, एतेष्वर्थेषु धातोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

163. The affixes called 'Kṛitya', and the affix 'Loṭ' come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word प्रैष means 'direction'; अतिसर्गः means 'permission to do as one likes'; प्राप्तकालः means 'arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action'. The force of च is to introduce the word लोट् into this aphorism. Thus भवता कटः करणीयः, कर्तव्यः, कृत्यः or कार्यः 'you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat'.

So instead of the Passive Potential Participles, for such the Kṛitya affix (III. 1. 95 &c) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus करोतु कटं 'you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat'.

It might be asked 'Why the *kritya* affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c'. They have been ordained most generically to come in denoting action in the Abstract (भाव) and object (कर्म) and *a fortiori* they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that लोट् being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an apavâda or special rule excludes an utsarga or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule) exclude *kritya* affixes; we would reply, that *kritya* affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) will apply'.

To this objection we answer 'the special mention of the word *kritya* in this sûtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim :—

'The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) does not *necessarily* apply in all cases after sûtra III. 3. 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed'.

Q.—What is the difference between the words विधि and प्रैष? Some say विधि means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while प्रैष means mere 'direction'.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (प्रैषातिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, लोट्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रैषादिषु गम्यमानेषु ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यथा प्राप्तञ्च ॥

164. The affix 'Liṅ' (as well as the 'Kṛitya' and 'Loṭ') is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a Muhûrta (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies 'at this very moment').

The words प्रैष &c. of the last sûtra must be read into this. The force of च is to introduce the words कृत्या and लोट् from the last sûtra, into this. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्त्तादुपरि मुहूर्तस्य भवता खलु कटः कर्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः, or भवान् खलु कटं कुर्वीत (Potential) or करोतु (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or 'you must &c', or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III. 3. 9.

स्मे लोट् ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मे, लोट्, (प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु, ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दउपपदे प्रैषादिषु गम्यमाने पूर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

165. The affix 'Loṭ' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) &c. and referring to time future by a Muhûrta).

This supersedes the Potential (लिङ्) and Potential Passive Participles (कृत्या). Thus ऊर्ध्वम् मुहूर्ताद् भवान् कटं करोतु स्म, ग्रामं गच्छतु स्म, माणवकमध्यापयतु स्म 'you (may, must, or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Mâṇavaka just now'.

अधीष्टे च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधीष्टे, च, (स्मे, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दउपपदेऽधीष्टे गम्यमाने धातोर्लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word स्म is understood here. The word अधीष्ट has already been explained in sûtra III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus अङ्ग स्म राजन् माणवकमध्यापय or अङ्ग स्म राजन्नग्निहोत्रं जुहुधि 'O! King! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-समय-वेलासु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिषूपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kâla', 'samaya', and 'velâ' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus कालो भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'; समयः खलु स्नानभोजने सेवितुम् 'it is time to bathe and take food'; वेला भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in तुमुन् may be used with words meaning 'time'; as अवसरोऽयमात्मानं प्रकाशयितुम् 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? कालः पचति भूतानि 'time de-

vours all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c'. is understood in the sûtra; so when 'direction &c' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, कालो भोजनस्य 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix ल्युट् (by which the word भोजन is formed). As we have already said in sûtra III. 3. 163 that after sûtras III 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sûtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an *Anitya* or a non-universal rule.

लिङ् यदि ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यदि, (कालसमयवेलासु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दे उपपदे कालादिषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a root, when the word 'yad' is in composition, and the words 'kâla', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in '*tumun*'. Thus कालः, समयो, वेला वा यद् भवान् भुञ्जीत 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अर्हे कृत्यतृचश्च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हे, कृत्य-तृचः, च, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हे कर्त्तरि वाच्ये गम्यमाने वा धातोः कृत्यतृचः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

169. The affixes 'kṛitya', and the affix 'tṛich' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'liṅ').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (लिङ्) into this, from the last. Thus भवता खलु कन्या वोढव्या वाह्या or वहनीया, (kṛitya); or भवान् खलु कन्याया वोढा (tṛich); or भवान् खलु कन्यां वहेत् (liṅ) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin '*kritya*' and '*trich*' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would *a fortiori*, be applied when *fitness* is to be denoted? Because the लिङ् being *specially* enjoined to denote fitness, and being an *Apavâda*, would have debarred *kritya* and *trich*, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

आवश्यकाधमर्ण्ययोर्णिनिः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ आवश्यक-आधमर्ण्ययोः, णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवश्यकभावविशिष्टे आधमर्ण्यविशिष्टे च कर्त्तरि वाच्ये धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix 'ṇini' is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'

or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus अवश्यं कारी 'must be done'. The compounding here takes place by II. 1. 72. So also शतं दायी 'ought to be given a hundred'; सहस्रं दायी; निष्कं दायी &c.

कृत्याश्च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, च, (आवश्यकाधमर्ण्ययोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाश्च प्रत्यया आवश्यकाधमर्ण्ययोरुपाधिभूतयोर्धातोर्भवन्ति ॥

171. The affixes called 'kṛitya' also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of 'necessity or obligation'.

Thus भवता खलु अवश्यं कटः कर्त्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः or कृत्यः 'you ought to make the mat'; भवता शतं दातव्यं, देयं, &c, 'you ought to pay a hundred'.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The *kritya* affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix णिनि of the last sûtra, which comes especially with the force of 'necessity' and 'obligation'.

Q.—Not so, for णिनि comes in denoting the 'agent' (कर्तृ), while *kritya* denotes the 'action' (भाव) and the 'object' (कर्म); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A.—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that *kritya* words like भव्य, गेय &c. (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the *agent*, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of kṛitya-formed words in general.

शकि लिङ् च ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि, लिङ्, च, (कृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्नोत्यर्थोपाधिके धात्वर्थे लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् कृत्याश्च ॥

172. And the affix 'Liṅ' as well as the 'kṛitya' affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of 'capability'.

The word 'capability' qualifies the root so that the sense of capability must be inherent in the root; Thus भवता खलु भारो वोढव्यः, वहनीयः, वाह्यः (kṛitya), or भवान् खलु भारं वहेत् 'you can carry the load'.

Though kṛitya-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this sûtra is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्, for rule III. 1. 94 is not universally valid.

आशिषि लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, लिङ्-लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशीर्विशिष्टेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

173. The affixes 'Liṅ' and 'Loṭ' come after a verb by which 'benediction' is intended.

The word आशीस् means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one's good wishes. The लिङ् here referred to is what is known as the आशीर्लिङ् or the Benedictive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary लिङ् which we have called the Potential or Optative; as चिरं जीव्यात् भवान् or चिरं जीवतु भवान् 'may you live long'!

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'. Observe चिरं जीवति देवदत्तः 'Devadatta lives long'.

**क्तिच्क्तौ च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तिच्-क्तौ, च, संज्ञायाम्, (आशिषि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये धातोः क्तिच्क्तौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

174. The affixes 'ktich' and 'kta' are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, 'give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.' Thus तन्तिः = तनुतात् 'a weaver' (lit. may he weave); सातिः or सतिः = सनुतात् (VI. 4.45) 'wealth or gift'; भूतिः = भवतात् 'success'; मन्तिः = मनुतात् 'respect'. These are examples of words formed by the affix क्तिच्। Of words formed by क्त in this sense, we have देवदत्तः = देवा एनं देयासुः 'Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix क्त has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by क्तिच्। The च् of क्तिच् is qualifying only, distinguishing it from क्तिन् &c. and is useful in sûtra VI. 4. 39.

**माङि लुङ् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ माङि, लुङ् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्युपपदे धातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix 'Luṅ' comes after a verb when the word 'mâṅ' is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As मा कार्षीत् 'let him not do' मा हार्षीत् 'let him not take'.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence instead of the Aorist? मा भवतु तस्य पापं मा भविष्यति। This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another मा which has not the indicatory ङ्; and with that मा, other tenses may be used. The augment is elided after the prohibitive particle मा, by VI. 4. 74.

स्मोत्तरे लङ् च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्म, उत्तरे, लङ्, च, (माङि, लुङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दोत्तरे माङ्युपपदे धातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराल्लुङ् च ॥

176. When the word 'mâṅ' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Laṅ' as well as 'Luṅ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लुङ् into the aphorism. Thus मास्म करोत् or कार्षीत् 'let him not make'; मास्म हरत् or हार्षीत् 'let him not take'.

ओ३म्

# अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

## BOOK THIRD.

### CHAPTER IV.

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**धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातु-सम्बन्धे, प्रत्ययाः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वर्थानां सम्बन्धो धातुसम्बन्धः, विशेषणविशेष्यभावः, तस्मिन्सति अयथाकालोक्ता अपि प्रत्ययाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥**

1. When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sûtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk:—"Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied)". Thus III. 2. 85 has taught that words like अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् have a past significance, *i. e.* they denote a person who *has* already *performed* the ceremony of Agnishṭoma. According to the present sûtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जनिता means 'to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agnishṭoma sacrifice'.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be something like this. "Affixes are employed in denoting relation (संबन्ध) between the senses of verbs". The word धातुसम्बन्ध is a Genitive Compound meaning 'relation of root'. The word धातु 'root' is figuratively used for धात्वर्थ 'sense of root'; so that the above compound means 'relation of the senses of roots'. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pâṇini: "It is to be observed, that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time of the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned."

Thus तत्र वसन् ददर्श 'living there, he saw'; अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जनिता 'to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnishtoma sacrifice'; कृतः कटः श्वो भविता 'he will be to-morrow maker of the mat'; भाविकृत्यमासीत् ।

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by वसन् is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with reference to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of वसन्, which therefore may remain as it is. In other words, 'affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence'.

Similarly the word अग्निष्टोमयाजी is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word जनिता is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb भविता does not affect the special time of the qualifier *Agnishtomayâjî*.

Q.—Why has the word प्रत्यय been repeated in this sûtra, when it was understood in this from III. 1.1 ? Ans.—The repetition is for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (धातु), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गोमानासीत् 'he was possessed of a cow'; गोमान् भविता 'he will be possessed of a cow'. Here the Taddhita affix मतुप् is added to the noun गो 'cow', with a present signification (V. 2. 94), the word गोमत् meaning 'who *has* cows' or 'in which there *are* cows.' This word गोमत्, however, is related and validly so, to the words आसीत् and भविता—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

**क्रियासमभिहारे लोट् लोटो हिस्वौ वा च तध्वमोः ॥२॥ पदानि ॥**

**क्रिया-समभिहारे, लोट्, लोटो, हि-स्वौ, वा, च, त-ध्वमोः, (धातुसम्बन्धे)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ समभिहारविशिष्टक्रियावचनाद्धातोर्लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति सर्वेषु कालेषु, सर्वलकाराणामपवादः तस्य च लोटो हि स्व इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः, तध्वम्भाविनस्तु वा भवतः ॥

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix 'Loṭ' is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes 'hi' and 'sva', or the affixes 'tâ' and 'dhvam' are the substitutes of 'Loṭ'.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this as follows: "When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural."

The phrase धातुसंबन्ध of the last sûtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called समभिहारः । This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, "when the sense of frequency &c. is under-

stood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots."

This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in connection with all moods. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada (हि and त); and 2nd. person singular and plural Atmanepada (स्व and ध्वम्). In other words, "the Imperative second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject of the main verb be different and the verb be in any tense." Thus लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येवायं लुनाति 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him 'cut thou, cut thou'. लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येव इमौ लुनीतः or इमे लुनन्ति 'they cut often and often'. So also लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येव त्वं लुनासि, युवाम् लुनीथः or यूयं लुनीथ 'thou or you two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut you'.

So also लुनीत लुनीतेत्येव यूयं लुनीथ, अहं लुनामि, अयमलावीत् &c. 'you cut, I cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'. Similarly with Atmanepada roots; as अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, इमौ अधीयाते, इमे अधीयते &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them 'study thou, study thou'.

So also अधीध्वमधीध्वमित्येव यूयमधीध्वे &c. Similarly in every tense, mood and person; as, अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवाहमधीये, आवामधीवहे, वयमधीमहे ।

The Intensive verbs in यङ् also have this meaning of frequency, but there the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. 1. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohtlingk), but in Marathi.

## समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, अन्यतरस्याम्, (लोट्, लोटो, हिस्वौ, वा, तध्वमोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुच्चीयमान क्रियावचनाद्धातोरन्यतरस्यां लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य लोटो हिस्वादेशौ भवतः ॥

**3. The affix 'Loṭ' is similarly added to the root optionally, when several themes follow one after another.**

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed, namely, हि, स्व, or त and ध्वम् । Thus भ्राष्ट्रमट मठमट खदूरमट स्थाल्यपिधानमटेत्येवायमटति or इमावटतः, or इमेऽटन्ति ।

Similar examples can be formed as in the last aphorism; only the Imperative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly छन्दोऽधीष्व, व्याकरणमधीष्व, निरुक्तमधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, or इमावधीयाते or इमेऽधीयते 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar, learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणमधीते,

छन्दोऽधीते, निरुक्तमधीते, इत्येवायमधीते, इमावधीयाते, इमेऽधीयते। छन्दोऽधीषे, व्याकरणमधीषे, निरुक्तमधीषे, इत्येव त्वमधीषे, युवामधीयाथे, यूयमधीध्वे। छन्दोऽधीये व्याकरणमधीये, निरुक्तमधीयइत्येवाहमधीये, आवामधीवहे, वयमधीमहे।

**यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-विधि, अनु-प्रयोगः, पूर्वस्मिन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्मिन् लोड्विधाने यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

4. In the first case (comprised under sûtra III. 4. 2), the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under sûtra III. 4. 2. We cannot say लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येवायं छिनत्ति; we must use a verb from the root लू 'to cut'. Such as लुनाति, &c. So also अधीष्वाधीष्व takes अधीते only after it and not a synonymous verb like पठति &c.

**समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, सामान्य-वचनस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये लोड् विधाने समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य धातोरनुप्रयोगः कर्तव्यः ॥

5. In the second case (III. 4. 3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus ओदनं भुङ्क्ष्व, सक्तून्पिब, धानाः खादेत्येवायमभ्यवहरति 'he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking saktu, and tasting fried corn'. Here the verb अभ्यवहरति has a sense common to all the verbs in the Imperative mood. The object of taking the second verb, having the senses common to all the antecedent verbs, is to prevent the repetition of *all* the previous ones. In the secular vernacular, the brevity, however, is often not approved.

**छन्दसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लुङ्-लङ्-लिटः, (धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातुसम्बन्धे सर्वेषु कालेषु लुङ्लङ्लिटः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words धातुसम्बन्ध and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. By saying 'optionally', other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus देवो देवेभिरागमत् (Rig. I. 1. 5.) 'O God Agni! come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist आगमत् has the force of the Imperative. ये भूतस्य प्रचेतस

इदं तेभ्योऽकरं नमः 'I make salutation &c. &c'. (Rig. X. 85. 17). Here अकरं is Aorist (लुङ्) and has the sense of the Present.

So also अग्निमद्य होतारमवृणीतायं यजमानः। Here लङ् is used instead of लट्।
So also अद्या ममार=अद्य म्रियते। Here लिट् is used instead of लट्।

**लिङर्थे लेट्॥ ७॥ पदानि॥ लिङर्थे, लेट्, (छन्दसि, अन्यतरस्याम्)॥**

वृत्तिः॥ लिङर्थे यत्र लिङ् विधीयते, विध्यादिर्हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङित्येवमादिस्तत्र छन्दसि विषये ऽन्यतरस्यां लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति॥

7. The affix 'Leṭ' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., लेट् may be employed instead of लिङ्. This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful'. तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. पताति विद्युत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. भवाति (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also मन्दिषत्, नेता, नेषत्, तक्षिषत्, उदधिं च्यावयाति।

**उपसंवादाशङ्कयोश्च॥ ८॥ पदानि॥ उपसंवाद-आशंकयोः, च, (छंदसि, लेट्)॥**

वृत्तिः॥ उपसंवादे आशंकायां च गम्यमानायां छन्दसि विषये लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति॥

8. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix 'Leṭ' is employed after a root, in the Chhandas Literature.

The word उपसम्वाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus यदि मे भवानिदं कुर्य्याद् अहमपि भवत इदं दास्यामि 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपसम्वाद; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called आशङ्का 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus अहमेव पशूनामीशै॥ मदमा एव वो ग्रहा गृह्यान्तै॥ मद्देवत्यान्येव वः पात्राण्युच्यान्तै॥ नेज्जिह्मायन्तो (or नेज्जिह्मायन्त्यो) नरकं पताम॥ (Nir. I. 11. Bohtlingk)=जिह्माचरणेन नरकपात आशंक्यते॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the Subjunctive (Leṭ) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not optionally, which anuvṛitti was understood in the last sûtra.

**तुमर्थे सेसेनसेअसेन्क्सेकसेनध्यैअध्यैन्कध्यैकध्यैन्शध्यैशध्यैन्तवैतवेङ्-तवेनः॥९॥ पदानि॥ तुमर्थे, से-सेन्-असे-असेन्-क्से-कसेन्-अध्यै-अध्यैन्-कध्यै-कध्यैन्-शध्यै-शध्यैन्-तवै-तवेङ्-तवेनः, (छन्दसि)॥**

तुमुनोऽर्थस्तुमर्थः, तत्र छन्दसि विषये धातोः सयादयः प्रत्यया भवन्ति॥

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come

after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz:— 'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', 'adhyai', 'adhyain', 'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'śadhyai', śadhyain', 'tavai', 'taveṅ' and 'taven'.

In the Vediç literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes. These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of the following five affixes :—(1) से = से, सेन् and क्से ॥ (2) असे = असे, असेन् and कसेन् ॥ (3) अध्यै = अध्यै, अध्यैन्, कध्यै, कध्यैन्, शध्यै and शध्यैन् ॥ (4) तवै ॥ (5) तवे = तवेङ् and तवेन् ।

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz. न्, क्, श् and ङ् । The forces of क्, श् and ङ् have already been explained ; the indicatory न् makes the word take the *udátta* accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus से is acute (III. 1. 3); सेन् has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. 1. 197); असे has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); असेन् throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory श makes the numbers 11 and 12 Sárvadhátuka, and the root takes the proper Vikaraṇa of its class before these affixes; while before तवै, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. 1. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is meant by तुमर्थ 'the sense of the affix तुम्' । The word तुमर्थ is here equivalent to भाव or 'action'; for the *pratyayas* or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुमुन्, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, *i. e.* it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) से—वक्षे रायः । (2) सेन्—तवामेषे रथानाम् (Rig. V. 66. 3). (3 and 4) असे and असेन्—भ्रस्मे शतं शरदो जीवसे धा (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also कृत्वे दक्षाय जीवसे' (Rig. X. 57. 4). With असेन् the word will be जीवसे । (5) क्से—प्रेषे भगाय । (6) कसेन्—गवामिव श्रियसे (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the नित् accent (VI. 1. 197) which would have given us श्रियसे । (7 and 8) अध्यै, अध्यैन्—कर्मण्युपचारध्यै । (9) कध्यै—इन्द्राग्नी आहुवध्यै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) कध्यैन्—श्रियध्यै । (11 and 12) शध्यै, शध्यैन्—पिबध्यै (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on पि । सह मादयध्यै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) तवै—सोममिन्द्राय पातवै । (14) तवेङ्—तं ते गर्भे हवामहे दशमे मासि सूतवे (Rig. X. 184. 3). (15) तवेन् = गंतवे (Rig. I. 46. 7); कर्तवे (Rig. I. 85. 9); हर्तवे ॥

**प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्यथिष्यै ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयै, रोहिष्यै, अव्यथिष्यै, (तुमर्थे, छंदसि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्यथिष्यै इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

10. The words 'prayai', 'rohishyai' and 'avyathishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.

Thus (1) प्रयै देवेभ्यो महीः (Rig. I. 142. 6); प्र+या+कै = प्रयै = प्रयातुम्। (2) अपामोषधीनां रोहिष्यै। रुह्+इष्यै=रोहिष्यै=रोहणाय। (3) अ+व्यथ्+इष्यै = अव्यथिष्यै=अव्यथनाय।

**दृशे विख्ये च ॥ ११॥ पदानि ॥ दृशे, विख्ये, च, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशे विख्ये इत्येतौ छन्दसि विषये निपात्येते ॥

11. The words 'driśe' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यम् (Rig. I. 50. 1)=द्रष्टुम्। विख्ये त्वा हरामि=विख्यातुम्।

**शकि णमुल्कमुलौ ॥ १२॥ पदानि॥ शकि, णमुल्-कमुलौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्नोतौ धातावुपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे णमुल् कमुल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

12. The affixes 'ṇamul' and 'kamul' are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'śak' (to be able).

Of the affix णमुल् the real affix is अम्; the letter ण् causes vriddhi (VII. 2. 115); and ल् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 193). So also of कमुल्, the letter क् prevents guṇa and vriddhi substitution (I. 1. 5).

Thus अग्निं वै देवा विभाजं नाशक्नुवन् 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni'. विभज्+णमुल्= विभाजं = विभक्तुम्। So also अपलुपं नाशक्नुवन्, instead of अपलोप्तुम्।

**ईश्वरे तोसुन्कसुनौ ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईश्वरे, तोसुन्-कसुनौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥**

वृत्तिः॥ ईश्वरशब्द उपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे धातोस्तोसुन्कसुन्प्रत्ययौ भवतः।

13. The affixes 'tosun' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the word 'îśvara' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोऽभिचरितो =अभिचरितुम्। ईश्वरो विलिखः=विलिखितुम्। ईश्वरो वितृदः = वितर्दितुम्।

**कृत्यार्थे तवैकेन्केन्यत्वनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-अर्थे, तवै-केन्-केन्य-त्वनः, (छन्दसि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानामर्थो भावकर्मणी, तस्मिन् कृत्यार्थे छन्दसि विषये तवै केन् केन्य त्वन् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

14. The affixes 'tavai', 'ken', 'kenya' and 'tvan' are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the 'Kritya-affixes'.

The force of *kritya* affixes is to denote 'action' (भाव) and 'object' (कर्मन्). Thus अन्वेतवै=अन्वेतव्यम्; परिधातवै=परिधातव्यम्; नावगाहै=नावगाहितव्यम्; दिदृक्षेण्यः (Rig. I.

146. 5) = विवृक्तितव्यम्; शुश्रूषेण्यः = शुश्रूषितव्यम् ; कर्त्वम्; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्तव्यम् ।

The affix त्वे was mentioned in sûtra III. 4. 9 also; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle. For its accent, see VI. 1. 200; 2. 51.

अवचक्षे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवचक्षे, च, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाच्चक्षिङ एशप्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

15. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus रिपुणा नावचक्षे (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नावख्यातव्यम् । अव + चक्ष् + एश् = अवचक्षे । The sûtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलक्षणे स्थेण्कृञ्वदिचरिहुतमिजनिभ्यस्तोसुन् ॥१६॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-लक्षणे, स्था-इण्-कृञ्-वदि-चरि-हु-तमि-जनिभ्यः, तोसुन्, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावो लक्ष्यते येन तस्मिन्नर्थे वर्तमानेभ्य स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे तोसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz :—'sthâ' (to stand), 'iṇ' (to go), 'kṛiñ' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्थो is not to be read into this sûtra. The word भावलक्षण qualifies the sense of the root (भावो लक्ष्यते येन). Thus, स्था—आ संस्थातोर्वेद्यां सीदन्ति = आसमाप्तेः सीदन्ति । इण्—पुरा सूर्यस्योदेतोराधेयः । कृञ्—पुरा वत्सानामपाकर्तोः । वद्—पुरा प्रवदितोरग्नौ प्रहोतव्यम् । चर्—पुरा प्रचरितोराग्नीध्रीये होतव्याः । (Gopatha Brahmaṇa II. 2. 10) । हु—आ होतोरप्रमत्तस्तिष्ठति । तम्—आ तमितोरासीत (Taitt. Br. I. 4. 4. 2) । जन्—आ विजनितोः सम्भवाम (Taitt. S. II. 5. 1. 5).

सृपितृदोः कसुन् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृपि-तृदोः, कसुन्, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृपितृदोर्धात्वोर्भावलक्षणेऽर्थे वर्तमानयोश्छन्दसिविषये तुमर्थे कसुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes after the verbs 'sṛip' (to creep) and 'tṛid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus विसृपः । पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपः (Yaj. I. 28.); आतृदः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12); पुरा जत्रुभ्य आतृदः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40.

अलंखल्वोः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां क्त्वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलं-खल्वोः, प्रतिषेधयोः, प्राचां, क्त्वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलं खलु इत्येतयोः प्रतिषेधवाचिनोरुपपदयोर्धातोः क्त्वा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvâ' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu', expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'in the Vedas &c' does not extend further. Thus अलं कृत्वा 'do not make'; खलु पीत्वा 'do not drink'; अलं बाले रुदित्वा 'do not weep, O girl!

Why do we say 'when there are अलं and खलु'? Witness माकार्षीः 'do not make'. Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition'? Observe अलङ्कारः 'decoration'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अलंरोदनेन 'do not weep'. Or if rule III. 1. 94 be applied, then the use of the word प्राचां is for the sake of merely showing respect (pûjârtha); the rule could have stood without it.

**उदीचां माङो व्यतीहारे ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, माङः, व्यतीहारे, (क्त्वा) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ माङो धातोर्व्यतीहारे वर्तमानादुदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन क्त्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvâ' is added to the root 'meṅ' (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अपमित्य याचते 'having offered an exchange, he asks' अप+मे+क्त्वा =अप+मा+ल्यप्=अप+मि+तुक्+य (VI. 1. 45 and 71)=अप+मित्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, याचित्वाऽपमयते 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of *ktvâ*; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time *anterior* to that of the other; see rule 21. The present sûtra is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root मेङ् has been exhibited in the sûtra as माङ्, with the vowel आ instead of ए. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhâshâ:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either ए, ओ or ऐ, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either ए, ओ, or ऐ, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhâsha दैप् must be regarded as ending in ऐ, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ऐ (VI. 1. 45), even while प् remains, दैप् does assume the form दाप् and is consequently; by the prohibition अदाप् in sûtra I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed घु।

परावरयोगे च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-योगे, च, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेण पूर्वस्य योगे गम्यमाने अवरेण च परस्य धातोः क्त्वा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix 'ktvâ' is added to a root, to denote what is situate on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation on the पर 'the other' side and अवर 'this' side, is called परावरयोगः। Thus अप्राप्य नदीम् पर्वतः स्थितः 'the mountain is situate without having reached the river *i. e.* on this side of the river, the river being on the other side. Here the word पर्वत is qualified by the word नदी which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly अतिक्रम्य तु पर्वतं नदी स्थिता 'the river is situate on the other side of the mountain'. Here the relation between the 'mountain' and the 'river' is of अवर and पर।

In other words:—"The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with reference to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action donoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other action"—G. P.

समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकयोः, पूर्व-काले, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानःकर्त्ता ययोर्धात्वर्थयोस्तत्र पूर्वकालेधात्वर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोः क्त्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आस्य व्यादाय स्वपिति सम्मील्य हसतीत्युपसंख्यानमपूर्वकालत्वात् ॥

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix 'ktvâ' comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i. e. the Absolutive in 'tva' refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having eaten he goes'; पीत्वा व्रजति 'having drunk, he goes'.

The rule is not confined to the case of *two* verbs: thus, स्नात्वा, पीत्वा, भुक्त्वा, दत्त्वा व्रजति 'having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes'.

Why do we say 'having the same agent'? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus भुक्तवति ब्राह्मणे गच्छति देवदत्तः the 'Brâhmaṇa having been fed, Devadatta goes'.

Why do we say 'which denotes *prior* action'? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus व्रजति च जल्पति च 'he goes and chatters'.

*Vart.*—The phrase आस्यं व्यादाय स्वपिति, संमील्य हसति 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed', is valid, though the affix क्त्वा is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

**आभीक्ष्ण्ये णमुल् च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आभीक्ष्ण्ये, णमुल्, च, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्ण्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affixes 'ṇamul' and 'ktvâ' come after a root, when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases 'when the agent of both the verbs is the same' and 'after the verb whose action occurs first in time' are to be read into this sûtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix क्त्वा into this sûtra. The affixes *ktvâ* and *namul* express 're-iteration' then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. 1. 4. Thus भोजं भोजं व्रजति 'having eaten repeatedly, he goes'; similarly भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा व्रजति, पायं पायं व्रजति 'having drunk repeatedly he goes'.

**न यद्यनाकाङ्क्षे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, अनाकाङ्क्षे, (क्त्वा, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दउपपदे धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ न भवतोऽनाकाङ्क्षे वाक्ये ॥

23. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' are not added to a root, when the word 'yad' is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word आकांक्षा means 'inter-dependence' or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent, and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb ; in such a case, *ktvâ* and *namul* are not used, when the word *yad* is in composition. This sûtra prohibits the affix *ktvâ* also, though the affix *namul* is in immediate context. Thus यदयं भुङ्क्ते ततः पचति, यदयमधीते ततः शेते, having eaten, he cooks ; having read, he sleeps'.

But when there is inter-dependence or आकांक्षा, we have यदयं भुक्त्वा व्रजति, अधीत एव ततः परम् । Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus : "In connection with यद् the above-mentioned Absolutives will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement."

**विभाषाग्रेप्रथमपूर्वेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अग्रे-प्रथम-पूर्वेषु, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्र प्रथम पूर्व इत्येतेषूपपदेषु समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ विभाषा भवतः ॥

24. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition :—'agre', 'prathama' and 'pûrva'.

This is an *Aprâpta-vibhâshâ.* The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus अग्रे, प्रथमं, पूर्वं वा भोजं भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having first eaten he goes'.

By using the word 'optionally' it is indicated, that the regular Tenses, such as the Present .&c, may be employed also. Thus अग्रे भुङ्क्ते ततः व्रजति 'he eats first and then goes'.

Q —The affixes of *Lat* (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. 1. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this sûtra indicates the existence of this *Paribhâshâ* :—"The rule III. 1. 94 has no concern with the affixes *ktvâ* and *namul,* when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule."

Therefore, we cannot apply III. 1. 94 and use the affixes *Lat* &c, when 're-iteration' is meant That is the exclusive province of क्त्वा and णमुल् ।

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only णमुल् been enjoined by this sûtra, and not क्त्वा also, then we could have formed the उपपद समास, for such is the force of the word एव in that sûtra.

कर्मण्याक्रोशे कृञः खमुञ्॥२५॥ पदानि॥ कर्मणि, आक्रोशे, कृञः, खमुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे कृञो धातोः खमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

25. The affix 'khamuñ' is added to the verb 'kṛi' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'.

Of the affix खमुञ्, the efficient portion is अम्; the indicatory ख introduces the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 67). Thus चोरं कारमाक्रोशति 'he reviles him as thief, *i. e.* he calls out in abuse 'thou art a thief., thou art a robber, &c.' The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one's indignation.

स्वादुमि णमुल् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वादुमि, णमुल्, (कृञः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वाद्वर्थेषूपपदेषु कृञो णमुल्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs 'kṛi' and another, have the same agent), the affix 'ṇamul' is added to the verb 'kṛi' (which is concerned

about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sûtra by anuvṛitti from III. 4. 21. Thus स्वादुङ्कारं or लवणंकारं, भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned'.

In the sûtra, the word स्वादुम् is used ending with a म्. It is an anomalous form, and indicates that a म् must be added to the upapadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. 1. 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादु ending in उ is formed by long ई, does not apply here. Thus स्वाद्वीम् कृत्वा यवागूम् भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं यवागूम् भुङ्क्ते। Here though यवागू is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादुं and not स्वाद्वीं।

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix खमुञ्? That will solve all difficulties; and will give us the augment मुम्' । To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment मुम् will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will *not* come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix च्वि and all *chvi*-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix खमुञ् will not remove the difficulty in the following case; अस्वाद्वीं स्वाद्वीं कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having first sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix क्त्वा in the alternative. Thus स्वादु कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते । All these affixes form abstract nouns (भाव) as they have the sense of the affix तुमुन् (III. 4. 16). In connection with णमुल्, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, *i. e.* we cannot use the Passive construction; *e. g.* स्वादुंकारं यवागूर्भुज्यते देवदत्तेन will be wrong.

**अन्यथैवंकथमित्थंसु सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत् ॥२७॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यथा-एवं-कथम्-इत्थंसु, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत्, (कृञः, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यथादिषूपपदेषु कृञो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्करोतेर्भवति ॥

27. When the words 'anyathâ' (otherwise), 'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'ṇamul' comes after 'kṛi' (to make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कृञ् valid? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting कृ, *i. e.* when without employing it, the same idea will be expressed. Thus अन्यथाकारं, एवंकारं, कथंकारं or इत्थंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence अन्यथाकारं भुङ्क्ते is equivalent to अन्यथा भुङ्क्ते ।

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid'? Witness

अन्यथा कृत्वा शिरो भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having turned his head aside'. Here कृञ् could not be spared.

यथातथयोरसूयाप्रतिवचने ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-तथयोः, असूया-प्रतिवचने, (कृञः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथा तथा शब्दयोरुपपदयोः कृञो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति, असूया प्रतिवचने गम्यमाने ॥

28. The affix 'ṇamul' is added to the root 'kṛi' (to make), the words 'yathâ' and 'tathâ' being compounded with it, when an angry reply is made : (if the omission of 'kṛiñ' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus तथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन 'I will eat in that way ; what is that to you' ? Similarly यथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन ।

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made' ? Observe यथाकृत्वाऽहं भोक्ष्ये तथा त्वं द्रक्ष्यसि 'in what way I will eat, that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of कृञ् would be valid' ? Witness यथाकृत्वाऽहं शिरो भोक्ष्ये किं तवानेन 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat' ?

कर्मणि दृशिविदोः साकल्ये ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, दृशि-विदोः, साकल्ये, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे साकल्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे दृशिविदोर्धात्वोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'driś' (to see), or 'vid' (to know), takes the affix 'ṇamul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कन्यादर्शं वरयति 'he woos every girl that he sees *i. e.* all the girls seen'. ब्राह्मणवेदं भोजयति 'he feeds as many Brâhmaṇas as he knows, *i. e.* all'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the total number of such objects' ? Observe ब्राह्मणं दृष्ट्वा भोजयति 'having seen the Brâhmaṇa he feeds him'.

यावति विन्दजीवोः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यावति, विन्द-जीवोः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावच्छब्द उपपदे विन्दतेर्जीवतेश्च णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jîv', (to live), when the word 'yâvat' is combined with them.

As यावद्वेदं भुंक्ते 'he eats all that he gets'. यावज्जीवमधीते 'he studies as long as he lives, *i. e.* throughout his life'.

चर्मोदरयोः पूरेः ॥ ३१॥ पदानि ॥ चर्म-उदरयोः, पूरेः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चर्मोदरयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः पूरयतेर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the words 'charman' and 'udar' are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरपूरं भुंक्ते 'he eats so as to fill his belly'? चर्मपूरं स्तृणाति 'he spreads so as to cover the skin'.

वर्षप्रमाण ऊलोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ष-प्रमाणे, ऊ-लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरयतेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ऊलोपश्चास्य पूरयतेरन्यतरस्यां भवति समुदायेन चेद्वर्षस्य प्रमाणमियत्ता गम्यते ॥

32. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'pûr' (to fill), when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long 'û' of this 'pûr' is elided.

Thus गोष्पदपूरं or गोष्पदप्रं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil)'. सीतापूरं or सीताप्रं वृष्टो देवः 'it rained filling up all furrows'.

Why have we used the word अस्य 'of this pûr' in the sûtra? The long ऊ of पूर् is to be elided, and not the long ऊ, if there be any, of the *upapada*. Thus मूषिकाबिलपूरं or मूषिकाबिलप्रं वृष्टो देवः। Here the long ऊ of मू is not shortened.

चेले क्नोपेः ॥ ३३ ॥पदानि॥ चेले, क्नोपेः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्, वर्षप्रमाणे)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्नूयी शब्दे उन्दने च, अस्माण्ण्यन्ताद्धातोश्चेलार्थेषु कर्मसु उपपदेषु णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति वर्षप्रमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

33. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the causative of the root 'knûy' (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting 'clothing', in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb क्नोपि is the causative root formed from the simple root क्नूयूं 'to wet'. Thus चेलक्नोपं वृष्टो देवः or वस्त्रक्नोपं or वसनक्नोपं &c. 'it rained so as to wet the clothes'.

निमूलसमूलयोः कषः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निमूल-समूलयोः, कषः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलशब्दयोः कर्मवाचिनोरुपपदयोः कषेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'kash' (to rub), when the words 'nimûla' and 'samûla' are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमूलकाषं कषति 'he scrapes down to the roots'; समूलकाषं कषति 'he scrapes up to the roots'. In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमूलकाषंकषति being equal to निमूलं कषति. From this sûtra up to sûtra III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see sûtra III. 4. 46.

शुष्कचूर्णरूक्षेषु पिषः ॥ ३५॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क-चूर्ण-रूक्षेषु, पिषः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्कादिषु कर्मवाचिषूपपदेषु पिषेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when the words 'śushka' (dry), 'chûrṇa' (powder), and 'rûksha' (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus शुष्कपेषं पिनष्टि = शुष्कं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'; चूर्णपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds to powder'; रूक्षपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'. Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिष् must be used to govern the gerund.

समूलाकृतजीवेषु हन्कृञ्ग्रहः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समूल-अकृत-जीवेषु, हन्-कृञ्-ग्रहः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूल अकृत जीव इत्येतेषु शब्देषु कर्मसूपपदेषु यथासंख्यं हन् कृञ् ग्रह् इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verbs 'han' (to kill), 'kṛi' (to make) and 'grah' (to seize), when the words 'samûla', 'akṛita' and 'jîva' in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समूलघातं हन्ति (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) 'he destroys so as to tear up by the roots *i. e.* he totally extirpates'; अकृतकारं करोति 'he does a thing which was not done before'; तं जीवग्राहं गृह्णाति 'captures him so as to preserve his life, *i. e.* captures him alive'. Here also appropriate verbs from the same *roots* are used to govern the gerund.

करणे हनः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, हनः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करण उपपदे हन्तेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb

'han', when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाणिघातं वेदिं हन्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54)= पाणिना वेदिं हन्ति 'he strikes the *Vedi* with the hand'; पादघातं भूमिं हन्ति 'he strikes the ground with the foot'. Reading this sûtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हन् here does not mean 'to kill', and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sûtra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sûtra III. 4. 48; or this sûtra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पादघातं ।

According to Pâtanjali, this affix comes after हन् under this aphorism, even when हन् means 'to injure'; thus counteracting rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule I. 4. 2. Thus असिघातं हन्ति 'he kills with the sword'; शरघातं हन्ति 'he kills with arrows'.

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

स्नेहने पिषः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नेहने, पिषः, (करणे, णमुल्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नेहनवाचिनि करणे उपपदे पिषेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus उदपेषं पिनष्टि = उदकेन पिनष्टि (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; तैलपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds with oil'. Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

हस्ते वर्तिग्रहोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्ते, वर्ति-ग्रहोः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तवाचिनि करणे उपपदे वर्तयतेर्गृह्णातेश्च णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vṛit) and 'grah', when a word denoting 'hand', in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus हस्तवर्तं, करवर्तं or पाणिवर्तं वर्तयति = हस्तेन वर्तयति 'he revolves by the hand'. So also, तम् हस्तग्राहम् गृह्णाति 'he takes him by the hand': so पाणिग्राहम्, करग्राहम् &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

स्वे पुषः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वे, पुषः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्ववाचिनि करणे उपपदे पुषेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'push' (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of 'sva' is in composition.

The word स्व means 'self', 'kinsmen' and 'property'. Thus स्वपोषं पुष्णाति 'he feeds himself'; आत्मपोषं, गोपोषं, पितृपोषं, मातृपोषं, धनपोषं, रैपोषं &c. See I. 1. 68. Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकरणे बंधः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, बंधः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिन्युपपदे बध्नातेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root *bandh*. Thus चक्रबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds to the wheel'; कूटबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in a snare'; मुष्टिबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the fist'. चोरकबन्धं बध्नाति = चोरके बध्नाति।

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (बंधः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाम् विषये बध्नातेर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus क्रौंचबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the manner called *krauncha-bandhan* or 'heron-knot'. मयूरिकाबन्धं बध्नाति or बद्धः 'he binds or is bound in a 'peacock-knot'. अट्टालिकाबन्धं बद्धः 'bound in a knot called *attâlikâ-bandhan*'.

All the above, *krauncha-bandhan* &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots'. The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

कर्त्रोर्जीवपुरुषयोर्नशिवहोः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्रोः, जीव-पुरुषयोः, नशि-वहोः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीवपुरुषयोः कर्तृवाचिनोरुपपदयोःयथासंख्यम्नशिवहोर्धात्वोर्णमुल्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the roots 'naś' (to perish) and 'vah' (to carry), when the words 'jîva' (life) and 'purusha' (person) expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus जीवनाशं नश्यति=जीवो नश्यति 'perishes, so that his life perishes *i.e.* dies away'; पुरुषवाहं वहति 'the man carries, *i. e.* the man becoming a servant, carries another on him = पुरुषः प्रेष्यो भूत्वा वहति।

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवेन नष्टः 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषेणोढः 'carried by a man'.

ऊर्ध्वे शुषिपूरोः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्ध्वे, शुषि-पूरोः, (कर्त्रोः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वशब्दे कर्तृवाचिन्युपपदे शुषिपूरोर्धात्वोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the roots 'śush' (to dry), and 'pûr' (to fill), when the word 'ûrdhva', denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus ऊर्ध्वशोषं शुष्यति वृक्षः = ऊर्ध्वे शुष्यति 'the tree is dried up while it is still standing'. Compare यद्वोर्ध्वशोषतृणवद्विशुष्कः 'or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up' (Bhatti. III. 14); ऊर्ध्वपूरं पूर्यते 'is filled full to the brim'. Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also.

उपमाने कर्मणि च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमाने, कर्मणि, च, (कर्त्रोः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमाने कर्मण्युपपदे चकारात् कर्तरि धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word 'agent' is read into the sûtra, by virtue of the word च 'also'. That with which any thing is compared is called उपमान or 'object of comparison or similitude'. As घृतनिधायम् निहितम् जलम् 'water was kept as ghee would be kept'. सुवर्णनिधायम् निहितः 'was kept as gold'. The force is that of इव; thus घृतनिधायम् निहितः = घृतमिव निहितः। So also when the object of comparison is as agent: thus, अजनाशं नष्टः 'he perished like a goat'. So also चूडकनाशम् हन्तनाशम्, &c.

कषादिषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष-आदिषु, यथा-विधि, अनुप्रयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलयोरित्येतदारभ्य कषादयः, एतेषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs 'kash' &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sûtra III. 4. 34 up to sûtra III. 4. 45, a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as *anuprayoga*, from which the gerund in *namul* was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aphorisms.

The present is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. This chapter deals with affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः) । See III. 4. 1 : so a gerund in *namul*, would, of course, be followed by some verb as *anuprayoga*; the present sûtra declares that the *other* verb must be from the same root as the gerund.

**उपदंशस्तृतीयायाम् ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ उपदंशः, तृतीयायां,(णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दंश दशने, अस्माद्धातोरुपपूर्वात्तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the root 'dañś' (to bite) preceded by the preposition 'upa'; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The *Upapada samâsa* is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus मूलकोपदंशम् भुङ्क्ते or मूलकेनोपदंशम् भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish'. Similarly आर्द्रकोपदंशम् or आर्द्रकेणोपदंशम् 'relished with ginger'.

The words मूलक &c in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb उपदंश्, and 'instruments' of the verb भुज् ।

By the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. 1. 94) the affix क्त्वा (or its substitute ल्यप्) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix णमुल् । Thus मूलकेनोपदश्य भुङ्क्ते ।

**हिंसार्थानां च समानकर्मकाणाम् ॥४८॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसा-अर्थानां, च, समान-कर्मकाणां, (णमुल्, तृतीयायां) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हिंसा प्राण्युपघातः, तदर्थानां धातूनामनुप्रयोगधातुना समानकर्मकाणां तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after roots having the sense of 'hins' (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus दण्डोपघातम् गाः कालयति 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.) Thus we have also दण्डेनोपघातम् । Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिंस; thus, दण्डताडम् or दण्डेन ताडम् ।

Why do we say 'when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb'? When the objects are different, णमुल् will not be employed. Thus चोरम् दण्डेनोपहत्य, गोपालको गाः कालयति 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows'.

**सप्तम्यां चोपपीडरुधकर्षः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, च, उप-पीड-रुध-कर्षः, (तृतीयायां, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वेभ्यः पीडरुधकर्षेभ्यः सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे चकारात्तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the roots 'pîḍ' (to press), 'rudh' (to obstruct), and 'krish' (to draw),

when they are preceded by the preposition 'upa', and when they are compounded with nouns ending with the 7th case-affix or the 3rd case-affix.

The phrase '3rd case-affix' must be read into the sûtra by virtue of the word च। Thus पार्श्वोपपीडं शेते 'he sleeps pressing on his sides'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पार्श्वयोरुपपीडम् or पार्श्वाभ्यामुपपीडम्।

So also व्रजोपरोधम् (or व्रजे उपरोधम् or व्रजेनोपरोधम्) गाः स्थापयति 'he stations the cows so that they are all in the fold'. पाण्युपकर्षं (or पाणावुपकर्षम् or पाणिनोपकर्षम्) धानाः संगृह्णाति। It is Bhvâdi कृष् here, and not Tudâdi.

समासत्तौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासत्तौ, (सप्तम्यां, तृतीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासत्तौ गम्यमानायां तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. (The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a root, when a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in composition with it), and when immediate contiguity is intended i. e. 'to fall together by the ears'.

The word समासत्तिः means 'immediate contiguity'. Thus केशग्राहम् (or केशेषु ग्राहम् or केशैर्ग्राहम्) युध्यन्ते 'having closely caught each other by the hair, they fight.' Similarly हस्तग्राहम् or हस्तेषु ग्राहम् or हस्तैर्ग्राहम्; so also यष्टिग्राहम् 'taking a stick'; लोष्टग्राहं &c. See II. 2. 21.

प्रमाणे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमाणे, च, (तृतीयायां, सप्तम्यां; णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे गम्यमाने तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a root, when a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in composition with it, and when measure of length is intended.

The word प्रमाणम् means 'length or extension'. Thus द्व्यङ्गुलोत्कर्षं (द्व्यंगुले उत्कर्षम् or द्व्यंगुलेनोत्कर्षम्) खण्डिकां छिनत्ति 'he cuts pieces of the length of two fingers'. See II. 2. 21.

अपादाने परीप्सायाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, परीप्सायां, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां अपादाने उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ṇamul' is added to the root, when a noun in the Ablative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

The word परीप्सा means 'haste, hurry'. Thus शय्योत्थायं (or शय्याया उत्थाय) धावति 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c, but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly रन्ध्रापकर्षम् पयः पिबति 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture. भ्राष्ट्रापकर्षमपूपान् भक्षयति 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting till they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry'? Observe, आसनादुत्थाय गच्छति 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix क्त्वा (ल्यप्) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

**द्वितीयायां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायां, च, (परीप्सायां, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus यष्टिग्राहम् (or यष्टिं ग्राहम्) युध्यन्ते 'they fight, having hastily taken up sticks'. That is, they are in such a haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defensive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c. Similarly लोष्ट्रग्राहम् or लोष्टं ग्राहम्।

**स्वाङ्गेऽध्रुवे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, अध्रुवे, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्रुवे स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus भ्रूविक्षेपं कथयति 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all directions'. अक्षिनिकाणम् जल्पति 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The स्वाङ्ग word is "a word denoting a thing which not being liquid or gaseous, and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being, or though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually, (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being."

The word अध्रुव means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix

णमुल् in the following, as *head* is not an अध्रुव limb:—उत्क्षिप्य शिर: कथयति 'he narrates, having thrown the head on one side'. Compare VI. 2. 177.

**परिक्लिश्यमाने च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने, च, (स्वाङ्गे, द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

55. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word परिक्लिश्यमान means 'completely hurt or affected'. Thus उर: प्रतिपेषं or उर:पेषं युध्यन्ते = कृत्स्नमुर: पीडयन्त: 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom'. So also शिर:पेषं or शिर:प्रतिपेषं ।

The differenee between this and the last sûtra consists in this, that this sûtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast', 'head' &c; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

**विशिपतिपदिस्कन्दां व्याप्यमानासेव्यमानयोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशि-पति-पदि-स्कन्दां, व्याप्यमान-आसेव्यमानयोः, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे विश्यादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति व्याप्यमाने आसेव्यमाने चार्थे गम्यमाने ॥

56. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verbs 'viś' (to enter), 'pat' (to fall), 'pad' (to go) and 'skand' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word व्याप्ति (or व्याप्यमान) means the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs विश्, &c). The word आसेवा means 'assiduous performançe of any action, or absorption into it'. In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आसेवा । The word व्याप्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आसेवा to the verb (such as *vis* &c). These two words have the same significance here as the words नित्य and वीप्सा in sûtra VIII. 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21. makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if व्याप्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आसेवा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गेहानुप्रवेशमास्ते, (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रवेशमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रवेशमनुप्रवेशमास्ते) 'having entered the house, he sits down', meaning either, 'having en-

tered every house in succession, he sits down', or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down'.

Similarly with the root पत्, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots पद् and स्कन्द्। Thus गेहानुप्रपातमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रपातमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रपातमनुप्रपातमास्ते); गेहानुप्रपादमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रपादं or गेहमनुप्रपादमनुप्रपादम्); गेहावस्कन्दमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमवस्कन्दं or गेहमवस्कन्दमवस्कन्दम्)।

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of *all* or *frequency*? Observe, गेहमनुप्रविश्य भुङ्क्ते 'having entered the house, he eats'.

Q.—By sûtra III. 4. 22, *namul* would have been valid, when *âbhikshna* was meant; and *âbhikshna* and *âsevâ* mean the same thing *i. e*, 'frequency'. Why then ordain *namul* again, by the present sûtra, in the sense of *âsevâ*? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix क्त्वा", that is not so. For क्त्वा would come by वाऽसरूप rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of *Upapada-samâsa* with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no *upapada*, while in the present case there is an *upapada*.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sûtra thus:—"विश्, पत्, पद्, and स्कन्द् in composition with an accusative, form the absolutive gerund in अम् (namul), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

**अस्यतितृषोः क्रियांतरे कालेषु ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-तृषोः, क्रिया-अंतरे, कालेषु, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियामन्तरयति क्रियान्तरः, क्रियाव्यवधायकः, क्रियान्तरे धात्वर्थे वर्त्तमानाभ्यामस्यतितृषिभ्यां द्वितीयान्तेषु कालवाचिषूपपदेषु णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'tṛish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word क्रियान्तर means 'the interval between two actions'. Thus द्व्यहात्यासं or द्व्यहमत्यासम् गाः पाययति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, *i. e* every third day'. So also द्व्यहतर्षं or द्व्यहं तर्षं गाः पाययति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink'. That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs अस् and तृष्'? Because the affix णमुल् will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus द्व्यहमुपोष्य भुंक्ते 'having fasted for two days, he eats'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe अहरत्यस्येपून् गतः ; here there is no intermission in the action of 'going'.

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe योजनमत्यस्य गाः पाययति 'allowing an interval of four miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows *i. e.* he waters the cows at every four miles'. Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time', and hence the affix is ल्यप् and not णमुल्।

**नाम्न्यादिशिग्रहोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम्नि, आदिशि-ग्रहोः, ( द्वितीयायां, णमुल् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नामशब्दे द्वितीयान्त उपपदे आदिशेर्ग्रहेश्च धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the roots 'âdiś' and 'grah', when the word 'nâman' (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus नामादेशमाचष्टे 'he mentions it, telling his name'. नामग्राहं मामाह्वयति 'he calls me by taking my name (*i. e.* by my name)'.

**अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने कृञः क्त्वाणमुलौ ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्यये, अयथा-अभिप्रेत-आख्याने, कृञः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय उपपदेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने गम्यमाने करोतेः क्त्वाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

59. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' come after the root 'kṛi' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word अयथाभिप्रेताख्यान means literally 'to denote the expression of that which is not really intended' *i. e.* a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix क्त्वा may be replaced by ल्यप्. Thus we have three forms नीचैःकृत्य, नीचैःकृत्वा, or नीचैःकारं. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किं तर्हि वृषल नीचैः कृत्वा, नीचैः कृत्य or नीचैःकारमाचष्टे"; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as ब्राह्मण कन्याते गर्भिणी in a loud voice, the other may reply "किं तर्हि वृषलोच्चैःकृत्वा, उच्चैः कृत्य, or उच्चैःकारमाचष्टे"। (See II. 2. 22 for compounding).

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe उच्चैःकृत्वाऽऽचष्टे पुत्रस्ते जातः। Here only क्त्वा is added. Why have we repeated क्त्वा in this sûtra, when in this chapter, by the rule of वाऽसरूप (III, 1. 94), *ktvâ* would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of *samâsa* or composition, by the application of II, 2, 22. The repetition

of णमुल् is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras, into which the anuvṛitti of *ktvâ* and *namul* runs concurrently.

**तिर्यच्यपवर्गे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तिर्यचि, अपवर्गे, (कृञः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तिर्यक्शब्द उपपदे कृञः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽपवर्गे गम्यमाने ॥

60. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' come after the root 'kṛi', when the word 'tiryak' is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end'.

The word अपवर्ग means 'completing or finishing'. Thus तिर्यक् कृत्य, तिर्यक् कृत्वा or तिर्यक्कारं गतः = समाप्य गतः 'having completed, he went away'.

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe तिर्यक् कृत्वा काष्ठं गतः 'having placed the wood *obliquely*, he went away'. Here णमुल् is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word तिर्यचि is the locative of the *word-form* तिर्यच्, and not of the *word* तिर्यच्। Other examples are: एतदोश् (V. 3. 5); अदसो मात् (I. 1. 12).

**स्वाङ्गे तस्प्रत्यये कृभ्वोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, तस्-प्रत्यये, कृ-भ्वोः, (क्त्वा-णमुलौ)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्प्रत्यये स्वाङ्गवाचिनि उपपदे करोतेर्भवतेश्च धात्वोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

61. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' are added to the roots 'kṛi' (to make) and 'bhû' (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one's own body; when the affix 'tas' is joined thereto.

The word स्वाङ्ग has already been defined in sûtra III. 4. 54. The *svânga* word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix तस्— a *taddhita* affix technically called तसि and तसिल् (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots कृ and भू, and there are two affixes to be applied *i. e.* क्त्वा and णमुल्; yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus मुखतः कृत्य गतः or मुखतः कृत्वा गतः or मुखतः कारंगतः। Similarly पृष्टतः भूय तिष्ठति or पृष्टतः भूत्वा तिष्ठति or पृष्टतः भावं तिष्ठति।

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe सर्वतः कृत्वा गतः।

Why do we say 'ending in the affix तस्'? Observe मुखीकृत्य गतः, मुखीभूय गतः।

Why do we use the word 'the affix'? If तस् is not an affix, but a verb, the rule will not apply. Thus मुखे तस्यति = मुखतः 'throws in the mouth'. With this मुखतः so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus मुखतः कृत्वा गतः।

नाधार्थप्रत्यये च्व्यर्थे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ना-धा-अर्थ-प्रत्यये, च्वी-अर्थे, (कृभ्वोः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाधार्थप्रत्यये शब्दे च्व्यर्थउपपदे कृभ्वोर्धात्वोः क्त्वाणमुलौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

62. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' are added to the roots 'kṛi' and 'bhû', when a word ending in the affix 'nâ' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhâ' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' (to make or to become something what it had not been before, V. 4. 50), is in composition.

Two words, नाना 'various' and विना 'without' are formed by the affix ना (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of धा are धा, ध्यमुञ्, धमुञ् and एधा (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of *chvi* has already been explained.

Thus अनाना नाना कृत्वा गतः = नाना कृत्य गतः Similarly नाना कृत्वा or नानाकारं गतः। So also विना कृत्य, विना कृत्वा or विना कारं गतः। So also नाना or विना भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः। With words formed by धा and cognate affixes, we have:—द्विधा or द्वैधं कृत्य—कृत्वा—कारं—भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः। But not so in हिरुक् कृत्वा, पृथक् कृत्वा।

Why do we use the word 'affix (प्रत्यय)' in the sûtra? Without it, the sûtra would have run thus: नाधार्थे च्व्यर्थे, and then any word, having the sense of ना, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of धा which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कृ or भू, would have taken the affix णमुल् and क्त्वा. But that is not so. Thus the words हिरुक् 'except' and पृथक् 'separately' have the sense of ना and धा respectively; as हिरुक्कृत्वा, or पृथक् कृत्वा।

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix *chvi*'? Observe नाना कृत्वा काष्ठानि गतः।

The word अर्थ in नाधार्थ qualifies only the term धा, and not ना, for there are no other affix having the sense of ना, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of धा। The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

तूष्णीमि भुवः ॥६३॥ पदानि ॥ तूष्णीमि, भुवः, (क्त्वा-णमुलौ)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूष्णींशब्दउपपदे भवतेर्धातोः क्त्वाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

63. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' are added to the root 'bhû', when the word 'tûshṇîm' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तूष्णींभूय, तूष्णीं भूत्वा, or तूष्णींभावम् 'having become silent'. The repetition of भू in this sûtra, shows that the anuvṛitti of कृ does not run into it and altogether ceases.

**अन्वच्यानुलोम्ये ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्वचि, आनुलोम्ये, (भुवः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्वक्शब्दउपपदे भवतेर्धातोरानुलोम्ये क्त्वाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

64. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'ṇamul' come after the root 'bhû', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word आनुलोम्य means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अन्वग्भूय—अन्वग्भूत्वा or अन्वग्भावमास्ते 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अन्वग्भूत्वा तिष्ठति 'he remains behind'.

**शकधृषज्ञाग्लाघटरभलभक्रमसहार्हास्त्यर्थेषु तुमुन् ॥६५॥ पदानि ॥ शक-धृष-ज्ञा-ग्ला-घट-रभ-लभ-क्रम-सह-अर्हा, अस्ति-अर्थेषु, तुमुन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शकादिषूपपदेषु अस्त्यर्थेषु च धातुमात्रात् तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'śak' (to be able), 'dhṛish' (to make bold), 'jñâ' (to know), 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghaṭ' (to strive), 'rabh' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in तुमुन् formed by this rule, differs from that given in sûtra III. 3. 10. In that sûtra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an *upapada* in construction, though that *upapada* is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such *upapada*.

Thus शक्नोमि भोक्तुम् 'I am able to eat'. Similarly जानाति—ग्लायति—घटते—आरभते—लभते—प्रक्रमते—सहते—अर्हति—अस्ति—भवति—or विद्यते भोक्तुम् 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This sûtra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says अर्थग्रहणमस्तिनैव सम्बध्यते अनन्तरत्वात् *i. e.* the sûtra gives roots from शक् to अर्ह and roots having the same sense as अस् 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, पारय 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पारयामि निर्वेदयितुम् (S. 4), पारयिष्यस्यत्रभवतीमपराद्धुम् (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विद् 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but न च वेद सम्यग् द्रष्टुम् न सा (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose

that the sûtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अर्थ with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sûtra, connecting अर्थ with all the above roots.—*Apte's Composition.*

पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याप्ति-वचनेषु, अलम्-अर्थेषु, (तुमुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषूपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

66. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb having in composition with it, 'alam' and its synonyms, when these words express 'to be capable of something'.

The word पर्याप्ति means 'capability, ability, fulness'. Thus लिखितमपि ललाटे प्रोज्झितुम् कः समर्थः (Hitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead'. लोकान् अलं दग्धुम् हि तत्तपः (Kumâra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds'. अस्ति मे विभवः सर्वं परिज्ञातुं (Vikramorvasi 2) 'I have power to know every thing'. भोक्तुम् प्रवीणः कुशलः पटुर्वा 'skilful in eating'.

Another interpretation of the sûtra is "the affix *tumun* is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्याप्ति or अलम् or a *synonym* of *alam* having the sense of *paryâpti*. Thus पर्याप्तो भोक्तुम्, अलं भोक्तुम्, भोक्तुम् पारयति ।

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability'? Observe अलमकृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलम्'? Observe पर्याप्तम् भुङ्क्ते । The word शक् in the preceding sûtra has not the sense of अलम् in that aphorism. With the sense of अलम्, the present sûtra will apply: as शक्यमेवं कर्तुम् ।

कर्तरि कृत् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, कृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्संज्ञकाः प्रत्ययाः कर्तरि कारके भवन्ति ॥

67. The affixes called 'krit' are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by *krit* affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to *krit* affixes like क्युन् (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like ण्वुल् and तृच् &c, (III. 1. 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कर्त्ता 'an agent'; नन्दनः 'one who causes happiness'; ग्राही 'who seizes'; पचः 'who cooks'.

भव्यगेयप्रवचनीयोपस्थानीयजन्याप्लाव्यापात्या वा ॥ ६८ ॥ प० ॥ भव्य-गेय-प्रवचनीय-उपस्थानीय-जन्य-आप्लाव्य-आपात्याः, वा, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव्यादयः शब्दाः कर्तरि वा निपात्यन्ते ॥

68. The words 'bhavya', 'geya', 'pravachanîya',

'upasthânîya', 'janya', 'âplâvya' and 'âpâtya' may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by *kritya* affixes and therefore by rule III. 4. 70, they would generally denote an action in the abstract, and the object, but not the agent. The present sûtra, however, makes them denote optionally the agent also. In the alternative they denote the action-name and the object also. Thus भव्य may mean 'existed', 'existence', or 'one who exists'; गेय means 'a singer', 'a song', or 'singing'; प्रवचनीय means 'one who explains', 'what ought to be explained', or 'an explanation'; उपस्थानीय means 'who waits upon', 'what ought to be waited upon or served', or 'waiting upon or attendance'; जन्य = जायतेऽसौ or जन्यमनेन means 'one who gives birth *i. e.* a father', 'birth' or 'what is born'; आप्लाव्य = आप्लवतेऽसौ or आप्लाव्यमनेन means 'who immerses', one 'immersing', or 'what ought to be immersed'; आपात्य = आपतत्यसौ or आपात्यमनेन means 'what falls upon', 'falling upon', or 'what ought to fall upon'. Thus गेयो माणवकः साम्नां 'the boy is the singer of the Sâma'; or गेयानि माणवकेन सामानि 'the boy ought to sing the Sâma'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुः स्वाध्यायस्य 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुणा स्वाध्यायः 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; उपस्थानीयोऽन्तेवासी गुरोः 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानीयः शिष्येण गुरुः 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil'.

लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः ॥६९॥ पदानि ॥ लः, कर्मणि, च, भावे, च, अकर्मकेभ्यः, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लकाराः कर्मणिकारके भवन्ति, चकारात् कर्तरि च, अकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो भावे भवन्ति, पुनश्चकारात् कर्तरि च ॥

69. The tense-affixes called 'la' are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent.

The term ल् means the ten affixes known as लट्, लिट्, &c; ल् is the common element of them all; and these affixes, when stripped of all indicatory letters, leave behind only the letter ल् which is thus common name for them all. The लः in the sûtra, is the nominative plural of ल् । By the word च in the sûtra, we draw in the word कर्ता or 'agent' from the last sûtra into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (भाव) or it may denote the 'agent'.

The verb itself denotes the action; to be or to do, generally; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गम्यते ग्रामो देवदत्तेन 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here ते of गम्यते denotes the object

and is in passive construction. गच्छति ग्रामं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix ति of गच्छति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb गम् being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; आस्यते देवदत्तेन 'it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb आस्यते here denotes merely भाव or 'action'. In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. आस्ते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sits'; here the verb आस्ते denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohtlingk translates the sûtra thus:—"A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action". The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

तयोरेव कृत्यक्तखलर्थाः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः, एव, कृत्य-क्त-खलर्थाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरेव भावकर्मणोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः क्तखलर्थाश्च प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

70. The affixes called 'kṛitya' and the affix 'kta' and those that have the sense of 'khal', have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object. (bhâva and karma).

The word तयोः 'of those two' refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act', and कर्म, 'object'. The word एव 'only' is used in the sûtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कर्तव्यः कटो भवता 'the mat must be made by you'; भोक्तव्यः ओदनो भवता 'the rice must be eaten by you'. Here the affix तव्य has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also आशितव्यं भवता 'thou must eat'; शयितव्यं भवता 'thou must lie down'. Here the sense of the affix तव्य being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix क्त denotes both the object and the action; कृतः कटो भवता 'the mat is made by you'; भुक्त ओदनो भवता 'the rice is eaten by you'. Here त is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly त may be used in denoting the mere act; आसितं भवता 'you sat'; शयितं भवता 'you lay down'.

Similarly the affixes having the sense of खल् (III. 3. 126) denote both

the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; ईषत्करः कटो भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकरः 'what is made with ease'; दुष्करः 'what is made with difficulty'. In the following examples the affixes denote the act; ईषदाढ्यंभवं भवता and स्वाढ्यंभवं भवता ।

After transitive verbs, the *kritya*, the *kta* and the *khalârtha* affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भाव or 'an Impersonal action'.

**आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि च ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-कर्मणि, क्तः, कर्तरि, च, (भावे, कर्मणि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिकर्मणि यः क्तो विहितः स कर्तरि भवति, चकारात् यथाप्राप्तं भावकर्मणोः ॥

71. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिकर्मणि means 'the beginning of an action' or when the action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having been simply begun. The force of च in the sûtra is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the क्त may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः here the agent is denoted. प्रकृतः कटो देवदत्तेन; here the object is denoted. प्रकृतम् देवदत्तेन; here mere action is denoted. Similarly प्रभुक्त ओदनं देवदत्तः (agent); प्रभुक्त ओदनो देवदत्तेन (object); प्रभुक्तं देवदत्तेन (act).

**गत्यर्थाकर्मकश्लिषशीङ्स्थासवसजनरुहजीर्यतिभ्यश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-अकर्मक-श्लिष-शीङ्-स्था-आस-वस-जन-रुह-जीर्यतिभ्यः, च, (क्तः, कर्तरि, भावे, कर्मणि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यः श्लिषादिभ्यश्च यः क्तः स कर्तरि भवति, चकाराद्यथाप्राप्तं च भावकर्मणोः ॥

72. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting the agent as well as the act and the object, after verbs implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the verbs 'ślish' (to embrace), 'śî' (to lie down), 'sthâ' (to stand), 'âs' (to sit), 'vas' (to dwell), 'jan' (to produce), 'ruh' (to mount) and 'jṛi' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the sûtra by virtue of the word च. Thus गतो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta is gone to the village' (agent); देवदत्तेन ग्रामः गतः 'the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); गतं देवदत्तेन 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs, denote the agent and the act only ; or in other words, they are used impersonally and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the object. Thus ग्लानो भवान् 'you were wearied' (agent), ग्लानं भवता (object); आसितो

भवान् 'you sat' (agent), आसितं भवता (object); उपश्लिष्टो गुरुम् भवान् 'you embraced the teacher' (agent), उपश्लिष्टो गुरुः भवता 'the guru was embraced by you' (object), उपश्लिष्टम् भवता 'you embraced' (act); उपशयितो गुरुम् भवान् 'you lay near the guru' (agent), उपशयितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपशयितं भवता (act); उपस्थितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपस्थितं भवता (act) ; उपासितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपासितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपासितं भवता (act); अनूषितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), अनूषितो गुरुः भवता (object), अनूषितं भवता(act); अनुजातो माणवको माणविकाम् (agent), अनुजाता माणवकेन माणविका (object), अनुजातं माणवकेन (act); आरूढो वृक्षं भवान् (agent), आरूढो वृक्षो भवता (object), आरूढं भवता (act); अनुजीर्णो वृषलीं देवदत्तः (agent), अनुजीर्णा वृषली देवदत्तेन (object), अनुजीर्णं देवदत्तेन (act). The verbs श्लिष् &c, become transitive with certain prepositions or *upasargas*, hence they have been mentioned here. Otherwise there was no necessity of mentioning them separately; as they, being intransitive verbs, when without prepositions, would be included in the word *akarmaka* of the sûtra.

दाशगोघ्नौ संप्रदाने ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश-गोघ्नौ, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाशगोघ्नौ शब्दौ सम्प्रदाने कारके निपात्येते ॥

73. The words 'dâśa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word दाश comes from the root दाशृ 'to give' by adding the affix अच् under rule III. 1. 134. This being a कृदन्त word would have otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sûtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus दाश means 'to whom something is given *i. e.* a servant'. Similarly *goghna* does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word *goghna* which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c, and not the regularly-formed word *goghna* which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandâl'. Thus दाशः = दाशन्ति तस्मै; गोघ्नः = तस्मै दातुं गां घ्नन्ति ॥

भीमादयोऽपादाने ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीम-आदयः, अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भीमादयः शब्दा अपादाने निपात्यन्ते ॥

74. The words 'bhîma' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by *Unâdi* affixes. Thus भी + मक् = भीम (Uṇ. I. 145, 148); भी + षुक् + मक् = भीष्म (Uṇ. I. 148) &c. By the next sûtra, *Unâdi* words do not denote ordinarily the recepient and the ablation.

The present sûtra makes them do so in the case of भीमादि words. The following is a list of Bhimâdi words :—भीमः, भीष्मः, भयानकः (Uṇ. III. 82), वरुः, चरुः,

(Uṇ. I. 7), भूमिः (Uṇ. IV. 45), रज्जुः (Uṇ. IV. 217), संस्कारः, संक्रन्दनः, प्रपतनः, समुद्रः, स्रुवः, or स्रुवः (Un. II. 61), स्रुक् (Un. II. 62) खलतिः ।

ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः ॥७५॥ पदानि ॥ ताभ्यां, अन्यत्र, उणादयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः शब्दास्ताभ्यामपादानसंप्रदानाभ्यामन्यत्र कारके भवन्ति ॥

75. The words formed by 'Uṇâdi' affixes denote other ideas than these two, i. e., recepient and ablation.

The *Unâdi* affixes being a subdivision of *krit* affixes, would have, by rule III. 4. 67, denoted the agent. By the present sûtra they are made to denote the object, the instrument and the location also. The word ताभ्यां has been used in the sûtra in order to include the word *sampradâna* also. For, had the sûtra been अन्यत्रोणादयः, only the *Apâdâna kâraka* would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the *Sampradâna kâraka.* Thus कृषितोऽसौ = कृषिः (Uṇ. IV. 120) 'agriculture *i. e.* what is ploughed' (object); तन्यत इति = तन्तुः (Uṇ. I. 69) 'a thread *i. e.* what is drawn out'; वृत्तमिति वर्त्म (Uṇ. IV. 145) 'a way *i. e.* what is established'; चरितं = चर्म (Uṇ. IV. 145) 'skin' (in which they live).

क्तोऽधिकरणे च ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तः, अधिकरणे, च, ध्रौव्य-गति-प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः, (क्तः, भावे, कर्मणि, कर्तरि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यो यः क्तो विहितः सोऽधिकरणे भवति चकाराद्यथाप्राप्तं च ध्रौव्यार्थेभ्यः कर्तृभावाधिकरणेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यः कर्तृकर्मभावाधिकरणेषु, प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः कर्मभावाधिकरणेषु ।

76. The affix 'kta' which is ordained after roots denoting fixedness (to cling to a place), motion and taking, gives the sense of location as well..

The verbs denoting ध्रौव्य or 'persisting in a place' are Intransitive verbs. The word *pratyavasâna* means 'eating' also; the force of च in the sûtra is that the affix *kta* expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting 'fixedness' or *dhrauvyârtha* it denotes the agent, the act and the location; after verbs denoting 'motion' it gives the sense of agent, object, act and location; after verbs denoting 'taking or eating', it has the sense of object, act and location. Thus आसितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sat'; आसितं तेन 'sitting by him (act); इदमेषामासितम् 'this was their seat' (location); यातो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta went to the village' (active); यातो देवदत्तेन ग्रामः (passive); यातं देवदत्तेन (abstract); इदमेषां यातम् 'this is their place of going' (location); भुक्त ओदनो देवदत्तेन (passive); भुक्त ओदनं देवदत्तः (active); देवदत्तेन भुक्तम् (abstract); इदमेषां भुक्तम् (location); कथं भुक्ता ब्राह्मणाः । पीता गावः । The आ in भुक्ता and पीता has the force of मतुप् (IV. 2. 85). भुक्तमेषामस्ति or पीतमेषामस्ति ।

ल्युट् च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्युट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्येत्ययमधिकारः, यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामो लस्येत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

77. In the place of 'la' will be substituted the affix which we shall announce hereafter.

This sûtra consists of one word लस्य meaning 'of ल'. It is an *adhikâra* sûtra. The word लस्य is the genitive singular of ल, the अ in ल being for the sake of pronunciation. The ल means the ten affixes: लट् present, लिट् perfect, लुट् first future, लृट् second future, लोट् imperative लेट् Vedic subjunctive, लङ् imperfect, लिङ् potential and benedictive, लुङ् aorist, लृङ् conditional. Six of these tenses have indicatory ट्, and four have indicatory ङ् ।

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sûtra thus:—In the following sûtras, the word लस्य should be supplied to complete the sense, *i. e.* the phrase 'in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as ल' ।

तिप्तस्झिसिप्थस्थमिब्वस्मस्तातांझथासाथांध्वमिड्वहिमहिङ् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिप्-तस्-झि-सिप्-थस्-थ-मिप्-वस्-मस्-त-आताम्-झ-थास्-आथाम्-ध्वम्-इट्-वहि-महिङ्, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्य तिबादय आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

78. The following are the substitutes of 'la':—'tip', 'tas', 'jhi'; 'sip', 'thas', 'tha; 'mip', 'vas', 'mas'; 'ta', 'âtâm' 'jha'; 'thâs', âthâm', 'dhvam'; 'iṭ', 'vahi', mahiṅ.

These are the well-known Conjugational-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sûtra II 4. 85, III. 1. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or लट् that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration.

The प in तिप्, सिप् and मिप् is for the sake of accent (III.1. 4); the ट् in इट् for distinguishing it in the sûtra इटोऽत् (III. 4. 106); and the ङ in महिङ् for forming the *Pratyâhâra* तिङ् which is the general name of the above 18 conjugational or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicatory letters, the following table shows the conjugational affixes as added under various tenses :—

PRESENT TENSE.—लट् ।

| | Parasmaipada. | | | Atmanepada. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sing. | Dual. | Plural. | Sing. | Dual. | Plural. |
| 1st. pers. | मि | वस् | मस् | ए | वहे | महे |
| 2nd. " | सि | थस् | थ | से | आथे | ध्वे |
| 3rd. " | ति | तस् | अन्ति | ते | आते | अन्ते |

| | Parasmaipada. Sing. | Dual. | Plural. | Atmanepada. Sing. | Dual. | Plural. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **IMPERFECT OR FIRST PRETERITE.—लङ्।** | | | | | | |
| 1st. pers. | अम् | व | म | इ | वहि | महि |
| 2nd. " | स् | तम् | त | थास् | आथाम् | ध्वम् |
| 3rd. " | त् | ताम् | अन् | त | आताम् | अन्त |
| **POTENTIAL OR OPTATIVE.—विधिलिङ्।** | | | | | | |
| 1st. pers. | याम् | याव | याम | ईय | ईवहि | ईमहि |
| 2nd. " | यास् | यातम् | यात | ईथास् | ईयाथाम् | ईध्वम् |
| 3rd. " | यात् | याताम् | युस् | ईत | ईयाताम् | ईरन् |
| **IMPERATIVE.—लोट्।** | | | | | | |
| 1st. pers. | आनि | आव | आम | ऐ | आवहै | आमहै |
| 2nd. " | हि | तम् | त | स्व | आथाम् | ध्वम् |
| 3rd. " | तु | ताम् | अन्तु | ताम् | आताम् | अन्ताम् |
| **PERFECT OR SECOND PRETERITE.—लिट्।** | | | | | | |
| 1st. pers. | अ | व | म | ए | वहे | महे |
| 2nd. " | थ | अथुस् | अ | से | आथे | ध्वे |
| 3rd. " | अ | अतुस् | उस् | ए | आते | इरे |
| **FIRST FUTURE OR DEFINITE FUTURE.—लुट्।** | | | | | | |
| 1st. pers. | तास्मि | तास्वस् | तास्मस् | ताहे | तास्वहे | तास्महे |
| 2nd. " | तासि | तास्थस् | तास्थ | तासे | तासाथे | ताध्वे |
| 3rd. " | ता | तारौ | तारस् | ता | तारौ | तारस् |
| **SECOND FUTURE OR INDEFINITE FUTURE.—लृट्।** | | | | | | |
| 1st. pers. | स्यामि | स्यावस् | स्यामस् | स्ये | स्यावहे | स्यामहे |
| 2nd. " | स्यसि | स्यथस् | स्यथ | स्यसे | स्येथे | स्यध्वे |
| 3rd. " | स्यति | स्यतस् | स्यन्ति | स्यते | स्येते | स्यन्ते |
| **AORIST OR THIRD PRETERITE.—लुङ्।** | | | | | | |
| 1st. pers. | सम् | स्व | स्म | सि | स्वहि | स्महि |
| 2nd. " | सीस् | स्तम् | स्त | स्थास् | साथाम् | ध्वम् |
| 3rd. " | सीत् | स्ताम् | सुस् | स्त | साताम् | सत |
| **PRECATIVE OR BENEDICTIVE.—आशीर्लिङ्।** | | | | | | |
| 1st. pers. | यासम् | यास्व | यास्म | सीय | सीवहि | सीमहि |
| 2nd. " | यास् | यास्तम् | यास्त | सीष्ठास् | सीयास्थाम् | सीध्वम् |
| 3rd. " | यात् | यास्ताम् | यासुस् | सीष्ट | सीयास्ताम् | सीरन् |
| **CONDITIONAL.—लृङ्।** | | | | | | |
| 1st. pers. | स्यम् | स्याव | स्याम | स्ये | स्यावहि | स्यामहि |
| 2nd. " | स्यस् | स्यतम् | स्यत | स्यथास् | स्येथाम् | स्यध्वम् |
| 3rd. " | स्यत् | स्यताम् | स्यन् | स्यत | स्येताम् | स्यन्त |

टित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ टितः, आत्मनेपदानाम्, टेः, ए, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टितो लकारस्य स्थाने यान्यात्मनेपदानि तेषां टेरेकारादेशो भवति ॥

79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'ṭ'.

The ल or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory ट् are six:—लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लोट्, लेट् । In these tenses the final portion called टि of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into ए । Thus त becomes ते, आताम् becomes आते, झ becomes झे &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes शानच्, and कानच् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into ए as in पचमानः, जग्मानः ? Because the word आत्मनेपदानां in the sûtra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the Pratyâhâra तिङ् ।

थासस्से ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ थासः, से, (लस्य, टितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ टितो लकारस्य यस्थास्तस्य सेशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

80. The word 'se' is the substitute of 'thâs' in those tenses that have an indicatory 'ṭ'.

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sûtra, the Atmanepada थास् is replaced by से, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पचसे, पेचिषे, पक्तासे, पक्ष्यसे ।

लिटस्तझयोरेशिरेच् ॥ ८१ ॥ प० ॥ लिटः, त-झयोः, एश्, इरेच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिडादेशयोस्तझयोर्यथासंख्यमेश् इरेच् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

81. The words 'eś' and 'irech' are the substitutes of 'ta' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The श् of एश् indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix त (I. 1. 55). The च् of इरेच् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 165). Thus पेचे, पेचाते पेचिरे । See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

परस्मैपदानां णलतुसुस्थलथुसणल्वमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मैपदानां, णल्-अतुस्-उस्-थल्-अथुस्-अ-णल्-व-माः, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिडादेशानां परस्मैपदसंज्ञकानां यथासंख्यं तिबादीनां णलादयो नवादेशा भवन्ति ॥

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | ṇal (अ) | thal (थ) | ṇal (अ) |
| Dual | atus (अतुः) | athus (अथुः) | va (व) |
| Plural | us (उः) | a (अ) | ma (म) |

The indicatory ल् in णल् and थल् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 193). The indicatory ण् is for the sake of causing वृद्धि (VII. 2. 25). Thus पपाच, पेचतुः, पेचुः, पेचिथ or पपक्थ, पेचथुः, पेच, पपाच or पपच, पेचिव पेचिम ।

विदो लटो वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदः, लटः, वा, (परस्मैपदानां, णलतुसुस्थलथुसणल्वमाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञाने, अस्माद्धातोः परेषां लडादेशानां परस्मैपदानां णलादयो नव विकल्पेनादेशा भवन्ति ॥

83. The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb 'vid'.

Thus:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Singular. | वेद or वेत्ति | वेत्थ or वेत्सि | वेद or वेद्मि |
| Dual. | विदतुः or वित्तः | विदथुः or वित्थः | विद्व or विद्वः |
| Plural. | विदुः or विदन्ति | विद or वित्थ | विद्म or विद्मः |

ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहो ब्रुवः ॥८४॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, पञ्चानाम्, आदितः, आहः, ब्रुवः, (परस्मैपदानां, णलतुसुस्थल०, लटः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवः परस्य लटः परस्मैपदानां पंचानामादिभूतानां पंचैव णलादय आदेशा भवन्ति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च ब्रुव आहशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

84. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb 'brû' (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; 'âha' being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of 'brû'.

Thus आह 'he says'; आहतुः 'they two say'; आहुः 'they say'; आत्थ 'thou sayst'; आहथुः 'you two say'; the rest like ब्रू as shown below:—

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Singular. | आह or ब्रवीति | आत्थ or ब्रवीषि | ब्रवीमि |
| Dual. | आहतुः or ब्रूतः | आहथुः or ब्रूथः | ब्रूवः |
| Plural. | आहुः or ब्रुवन्ति | ब्रूथ | ब्रूमः |

The word आदितः 'first' is used in the sûtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word ब्रुवः in the sûtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

लोटो लङ्वत् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोटः, लङ्वत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटो लङ्वत्कार्यं भवति ॥

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an अतिदेश sûtra; as in the लङ् there are the affixes ताम्, तम्, त, व and म, so also in the लोट् । Thus पचताम्, पचतम्, पचत, पचाव, पचाम ।

Q.—If लोट् is like लङ्, why have we not the augment अट्, आट्, or the substitution of जुस् for झि (see III. 4. 111) in the case of लोट् also?

A.—The वा of sûtra III. 4. 83 is understood in this sûtra also, so that the analogy between लोट् and लङ् is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to लङ्, equally applicable to लोट् also.

एरुः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, उः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशानामिकारस्य उकारादेशो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हिन्योरुत्वप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. In the Imperative, 'u' is substituted for 'i'.

Thus ति becomes तु, अन्ति becomes अन्तु, as have already been given in the above table.

*Vârt.*—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and नि of लोट्। In the case of these two affixes, the इ is not changed into उ, either because they have been so taught in the sûtras, or because the वा of sûtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sûtra (व्यवस्थित विभाषा). Thus पचतु, पचन्तु।

In fact, this sûtra is confined to ति and झि only, and does not apply to सि to which the next sûtra applies.

सेर्ह्यपिच्च ॥ ८७ ॥ सेः, हि, अपित्, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशस्य सेर्हि इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

87. In the Imperative, 'hi' is substituted for 'si', and this has not the indicatory 'p' of 'sip', i. e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि substituted for सिप्, would have been a पित् affix, but for this sûtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि is not to be regarded as having an indicatory प्।

Thus लुनीहि, पुनीहि, राध्नुहि, तक्ष्णुहि ; and as this affix is अपित्, rule I. 2. 4 makes it ङित् also, and thereby no guṇa takes place.

वा छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि, (सेर्ह्यपित्, लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशश्छन्दसि विषये हिशब्दो वाऽपिद्भवति ॥

88. In the Vedas, the substitute 'hi' is optionally treated as not having an indicatory 'p'.

The result is that in the Chhandas the second person singular of लोट् has two forms as प्रीणाहि or प्रीणीहि; युयुधि or युयोधि, धि being substituted for हि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अग्ने नय सुपथा राये अस्मान्विश्वानि देव वयुनानि विद्वान्।
युयोध्यस्मज्जुहुराणमेनो भूयिष्ठां ते नमउक्तिं विधेम ॥

— Rig 1. 189. 1: Yajur Veda. 40. 16.

मेर्निः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेः, निः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडादेशस्य मेर्निरादेशो भवति ॥

89. In the Imperative, 'ni' is substituted for the affix 'mi'.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of इ into उ, and the rule of *lopa* ; see the table; thus पचानि, पठानि।

आमेतः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्, एतः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सम्बंधिन एकारस्य आमित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

90. In the Imperative 'âm' is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise 'e' by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ए. In the Atmanepada, आम् is substituted for ए in the Imperative; see the table; पचताम्, पचेताम्, पचन्ताम्।

सवाभ्यां वामौ ॥९१॥ प० ॥ स-वाभ्यां, व-अमौ, (लोटः, एतः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य लोट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य यथासंख्यं व अम् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

91. For such an 'e' coming after 's', is substituted 'v', and for that coming after 'v', is substituted 'am', in the Imperative.

This supersedes the आम् substitution of the last sûtra. Thus, for से we have स्व, and for ध्वे we have ध्वम्; see the table; thus पचस्व, पचध्वम्।

आडुत्तमस्य पिच्च ॥९२॥ पदानि॥ आट्, उत्तमस्य, पित्, च, (लोटः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्याडागमो भवति स चोत्तमपुरुषः पिद्भवति ॥

92. In the Imperative 'âṭ' is the augment of the affixes of the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicatory 'p'.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have आनि, आव, आम। Thus करवाणि, करवाव, करवाम; करवै, करवावहै, करवामहै।

एत ऐ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः, ऐ, (लोटः, उत्तमस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडुत्तमसम्बन्धिन एकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

93. The 'ai' is substituted for 'e' forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus करवै, करवावहै, करवामहै।

But the ए resulting from sandhi, is not to be changed into ऐ। Thus पचाव + इदम् = पचावेदम्, पचाम + इदम् = पचामेदम्। Here, no doubt, the ए belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of अ of म and व. But this is not to be changed into ऐ on the maxim that this ए is the result of a बहिरङ्ग rule, for

the rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 87), is a बहिरङ्ग rule, while the present sûtra is an अन्तरङ्ग rule; because of the following Paribhâshâ, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

लेटो ऽडाटौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लेटः, अट्-आटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेटोऽडाटावागमौ भवतः पर्यायेण ॥

94. The augments 'aṭ' and 'âṭ' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments अट् and आट् are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुष्+सिप्+अट्+त् = जोषिषत्; तारिषत्, मन्दिषत्; similarly पत्+आट्+ति = पताति; च्यावयाति। See III. 1. 34 for the addition of सिप् in the above.

आत ऐ ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ऐ, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन आकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

95. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'â' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्त्रयैते, मन्त्रयैथे, करवैते, करवैथे। Why is not the augment आट् changed into ऐ? Because otherwise the rule enjoining आट् would be superfluous.

वैतोऽन्यत्र ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, एतः, अन्यत्र, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य वा ऐकारादेशो भवति अन्यत्रेत्यनन्तरो विधिरपेक्ष्यते। आत ऐ इत्येतद्विषयं वर्जयित्वा एत ऐ भवति ॥

96. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e', in other places than those mentioned in the last sûtra.

Thus शयै, ईशै, &c, in the following examples:—सप्ताहानि शयै, अहमेव पशूनामीशै, मदग्रा एव वो ग्रहा गृह्यान्तै, मद्देवत्यान्येव वः पात्राण्युच्यान्तै। And in the alternative we have simply ए, as यत्र क्व च ते मनो दक्षम् दधसउत्तरम्।

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last sûtra'? Observe मन्त्रयैते, मन्त्रयैथे।

इतश्च लोपः परस्मैपदेषु ॥९७॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, लोपः, परस्मैपदेषु, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्संबंधिन इकारस्य परस्मैपदविषयस्य लोपो भवति वानुवृत्तेः पक्षे श्रवणमपि भवति ॥

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The वा of the last sûtra is understood here also. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1). तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12). मन्दिषत्। In the alternative, it is not elided as पताति विद्युत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1). उदधिं च्यावयाति। The इ of इट्, वहि and महि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

स उत्तमस्य ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, उत्तमस्य, (लेटः, वा, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्य सकारस्य वा लोपो भवति ॥

98. The 's' of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करवाव or करवावः, करवाम or करवामः । The first person is used in the sûtra to indicate that the स् is not elided in any other person.

नित्यं ङितः ॥९९॥ प० ॥ नित्यं, ङितः, (लस्य, उत्तमस्य, सः, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङितो लकारस्य य उत्तमस्तस्य नित्यं सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

99. There is always elision of the 's' of the first person of the affixes that come in the room of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'ṅ'.

The tense-affixes having indicatory ङ् are four, namely, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ् and लृङ् । In their case, the elision of स् is not optional as was the case in the last sûtra, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the स् is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपचाव, अपचाम । The word नित्यं 'always' is used in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally'.

इतश्च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, (ङितः, नित्यं, लोपः, लस्य)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङिल्लकारसम्बन्धिन इकारस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

100. And there is elision of the 'i' of that Parasmaipada affix which is the substitute of a 'la' having an indicatory 'ṅ'.

Thus, for ति we have त्, for सि we have स्, &c, as in the above table. The इ of Atmanepada is, however, not elided, because the anuvṛitti of Parasmaipada is understood here from sûtra III. 4. 97. Thus अपचत्, अपाक्षीत्, but अपचावहि and अपचामहि ।

तस्थस्थमिपां तान्तंतामः ॥१०१॥ पदानि ॥ तस्-थस्-थ-मिपाम्, तां-तं-त-आमः, (ङितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङिल्लकारसम्बन्धिनां चतुर्णां यथासंख्यं तामादय आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

101. The affixes 'tâm', 'tam', 'ta' and 'âm' are the substitutes of the four affixes 'tas', 'thas', 'tha' and 'mip' respectively, of any 'la' which has an indicatory 'ṅ'.

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचताम्, अपचतम्, अपचत, अपचम्, अपाक्ताम्, अपाक्तम्, अपाक्त, अपाक्षम् ।

लिङस्सीयुट् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङः, सीयुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशानां सीयुडागमो भवति ॥

102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedictive take the augment 'sîyuṭ'.

The ट् of सीयुट् is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The उ is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the स् of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the य् also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have पचेत, पचेयाताम्, and by III. 4. 105, पचेरन्। In the Benedictive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not geverned by VI. 1. 66. Thus पक्षीष्ट, पक्षीयास्ताम् पक्षीरन्।

यासुट् परस्मैपदेषूदात्तो ङिच्च ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यासुट्, परस्मैपदेषु, उदात्तः, ङित्, च, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदविषयस्य लिङो यासुडागमो भवति सीयुटोऽपवादः सचोदात्तो भवति, ङिच्च ॥

103. When the Parasmaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yâsuṭ' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory 'ṅ'.

This debars सीयुट्; the उट् of यासुट् is indicatory; the real augment is यास्. All augments being anudâtta, the present sûtra therefore especially uses the word udâtta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though लिङ् has an indicatory ङ्, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory ङ्, the repetition of the word ङित् in this sûtra shows the existence of the paribhâshâ "that the ङ् belonging to ल does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ् and लृङ् are not to be regarded as having an indicatory ङ् (लकाराश्रयङित्त्वमादेशानां न भवति ). In the Potential, the स् of यासुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms कुर्यात्, कुर्याताम्, and by applying III. 4. 108 and VI. 1. 96, कुर्युस्। For the Benedictive लिङ् the following sûtra applies.

किदाशिषि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कित्, आशिषि, (लिङः, यासुट्, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि यो लिङ् तस्य यासुडागमो भवति सचोदात्तः किद्भवति ॥

104. The augment 'yâsuṭ' comes after that 'liṅ' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this 'liṅ' are as if they had an indicatory 'k'.

The कित् of this sûtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedictive mood and not to the augment यासुट्, for that would have been unnecessary,

being already ङित् by the last rule. ङित् and कित् are equal in prohibiting guṇa and vṛiddhi, but ङित् is distinguished from कित् inasmuch as ङित् causes the guṇa of जागृ (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus इष्यात्, इष्यास्ताम्, इष्यासुः, and जागर्यात्, जागर्यास्ताम् and जागर्यासुः। In the Potential, वच्यात् (no samprasâraṇa); in the Benedictive, उच्यात् (vocalisation). So also जागृयात् in the Potential.

झस्य रन् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ झस्य, रन्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ झस्य लिङादेशस्य रन्नित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ran' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'Liṅ' (Potential and Benedictive).

The झ in other places, is replaced generally by अन्त (VII. 1. 3), but in लिङ्, it is replaced by रन्। Thus पचेरन्, यजेरन्, कृषीरन्।

इटोऽत् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, अत्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य इटोऽदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus पचेय, यजेय, कृषीय, हृषीय।

Q.—In the sûtra, the word अत् is used, and the final त् belongs to the विभक्ति, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this त् is not indicatory; why is it made so ?

A.—This त is not any portion or member of the substitute अत्; it is added to अ merely for the sake of euphony.

The इट् refers to the आत्मनेपद affix of the first person singular ; and not to the augment इट् on the strength of the maxim अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य। A combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.

सुट् तिथोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, ति-थोः, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ् संबन्धिनोस्तकारथकारयोः सुडागमो भवति ॥

107. The augment 'suṭ' is added to the affixes 'ta' and 'tha' when part of the affixes of the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters त and थ are the objects to which the augment सुट् is to be added; provided that the त and थ are the initial of the affixes employed in लिङ्।

The augment सीयुट् is applied to लिङ् as such; in other words, लिङ् is

there the आगमी ; but in the case of सुट्, लिङ् is not the आगमी, but त and थ are the आगमी। The scope of सीयुट् and सुट् being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the sûtra, the word सि is used; the इ of सि is merely for the sake of pronunciation. Thus कृषीष्ट, कृषीयास्ताम् कृषीरन्, कृषीष्ठाः, कृषीयास्थाम्। In the Potential, the स् is elided by VII. 2. 79.

झेर्जुस् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ झेः, जुस्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य झेर्जुस् आदेशो भवति ॥

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debars अन्त (VII. 1. 3); thus पचेयुः, यजेयुः।

सिजभ्यस्तविदिभ्यश्च ॥१०९॥ सिच्-अभ्यस्त-विदिभ्यः, च, (झेर्जुस्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः परस्य अभ्यस्त संज्ञकेभ्यो वेत्तेश्चोत्तरस्य जुसादेशो भवति ॥

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicatory 'ṅ') 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', when it comes after an Aorist in 'sich', or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root 'vid' (to know).

This applies to tenses having ङ् other than that of लिङ्, namely, the लङ् and लुङ्।

सिच् is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb विद्, form their third person plural in जुस्, in the tenses other than लिङ्, and those that take सिच्। The word ङित: of sûtra III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (लङ्) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of सिच्, we have अकार्षुः, अहार्षुः। Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अबिभयुः, अजिह्रयुः, अजागरुः। In the case of विद्, we have अविदुः।

आतः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, (झेर्जुस्, सिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिच आकारान्ताच्च परस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति ॥

110. (When 'sich' is elided), 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', after an Aorist stem which ends in long 'â'.

The सिच् is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus अदुः, अधुः, अस्थुः। In other words, in those cases, where सिच् is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुस् is the substitute of झि where the verbs end in long आ। In other words, this sûtra restricts the scope of the last sûtra, by which after every सिच्, जुस् was to replace झि।

The Present sûtra says that after verbs in which सिच् has been elided,

जुस् does not replace झि in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long आ; it is thus a *niyama* rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, सिच् is elided after the verb भू, but as भू does not end in long आ, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in जुस्। Thus, अभुवन्। Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that 'though सिच् is elided, yet its force remains (I. 1. 62)', जुस् would have replaced झि; but the present sûtra prohibits that. But where the सिच् is not elided, there, of course, जुस् does come. Thus अकार्षुः, अहार्षुः।

लङः शाकटायनस्य ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लङः, शाकटायनस्य, (झेः, जुस्, आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तादुत्तरस्य लङादेशस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

111. In the opinion of Sâkaṭâyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long 'â'.

Thus अयुः, अवुः। In the alternative, we have अयान् and अवान्।

Why is लङ् repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sûtra applies to ङित् tenses, of which लुङ् being dealt with in the last, would leave लङ् only to be dealt with by this aphorism, for no other ङित् tense (like लिङ् or लृङ्) can end in आ? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लङ् as लङ्, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated *like* लङ्। Thus लोट् is treated *like* लङ्, but for the purposes of this rule, लोट् would not be so treated. Thus the झि of लोट् will not be changed into जुस् by III. 4. 109. Thus विश्यन्तु, जाग्रतु, विदन्तु। The word एव has been used in the sûtra, for the sake of the subsequent sûtra.

द्विषश्च ॥११२॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, च, (लङः, शाकटायनस्य, झेर्जुस्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषः परस्य लङादेशस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

112. In the opinion of Sâkaṭâyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect after the verb 'dvish' (to hate).

Thus अद्विषुः। But according to others, अद्विषन्।

तिङ्शित्सार्वधातुकम् ॥ ११३ ॥ प० ॥ तिङ्-शित्, सार्वधातुकम्॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङः शितश्च प्रत्ययाः सार्वधातुकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicatory 'ś', are called 'sârvadhâtuka'.

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to तद्धित affixes &c. Thus, स्वपिति, रोदिति, पचमानः, यजमानः। लिट् and आशीर्लिङ् are exceptions.

आर्द्धधातुकं शेषः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकम्, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङः शितश्च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यः प्रत्ययः शेषो धातुसंशब्दनेन विहित आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

114. The remainder, i. e. the affixes other than 'tiṅ', and those with an indicatory 'ś' subjoined to a verbal root, are called 'ârdhadhâtuka'.

Thus the affixes तृ, तुम्, तव्यम् &c. are आर्धधातुक affixes as in the following words—लवित्ता, लवितुम्, लवितव्यम्। Here the augment इट् is added, because of these affixes being called *ârdhadhâtuka* by VII. 2. 35.

The word धातोः whose anuvṛitti began with sûtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of *sârvadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka*; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix भ्याम् when added to the noun लू, is not called an *ârdhadhâtuka* affix, and therefore we have लूभ्याम्, लूभिः &c. Had these affixes been *ârdhadhâtuka*, they would have caused the *guna* of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes त्वं and ता in the words वृक्षत्वं and वृक्षता are not *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the augment इट् (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sûtra III. 1. 5, the affix सन् is used without changing the sense, after the roots गुप्, तिज् and कित्। But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word धातोः as it is in sûtra III. 1. 7, this सन् is not called *ârdhadhâtuka*, and does not take the augment इट्, as जुगुप्सते।

लिट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्, च, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिडादेशस्तिङार्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called 'ârdhadhâtuka'.

This debars them from being called *sârvadhâtuka* and, being *ârdhadhâtuka*, some of them take the augment इट्; as पेचिथ, शेकिथ। Moreover by their being *ârdhadhâtuka* they do not admit of the Vikaraṇas शप् &c.

So from ग्लै (ग्ला, VI. 1. 45) we have जग्ले; here the आ is elided by VI. 4 64, the affix being treated as *ârdhadhâtuka*; similarly मम्ले from म्लै।

लिङाशिषि ॥११६॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, आशिषि, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् स आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of 'liṅ' are called 'ârdhadhâtuka', i. e. the personal endings of the Benedictive are 'ârdhadhâtuka'.

This debars these affixes from being called *sârvadhâtuka*. Being *ârdhadhâtuka* they take the augment इट्, and before these affixes the root does

not take the Vikaraṇas शप् &c. Thus from the root लू 'to cut', we have in the आशीर्लिङ्, लविषीष्ट; and from the root पू 'to purify', पविषीष्ट. But in the विधिलिङ् (Potential), we have the proper Vikaraṇas &c. as लुनीयात्, पुनीयात् ।

छन्दस्युभयथा ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छंदसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उभयथा भवति सार्वधातुकमार्द्धधातुकं च ॥

117. In the Vedas this distinction of 'sârvadhâtuka' and 'ârdhadhâtuka is not always maintained, and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about *sârvadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes. Sometimes the तिङ् and शित् are treated as if they were *ârdhadhâtuka*. Thus वर्धन्तु त्वा सुष्टुतयः । Here the affixes of the लोट् are treated as *ârdhadhâtuka* and consequently there is the elision of the णिच् by rule VI. 4. 51; the proper form of this word would be वर्धयन्तु । Sometimes *ârdhadhâtuka* affixes are treated like *sârvadhâtuka* affixes; as विशृण्विरे; here the affixes of the लिट् are treated as *sârvadhâtuka* and so there is the Vikaraṇa श्नु and the उ is changed into व । Thus, वि+श्रु+श्नु+इरे=वि+शृ+नु+इरे (III. 1. 74) =वि+शृ+न्व्+इरे (VI. 4. 87)=विशृण्विरे । Similarly, सुन्विरे । The लिङ् is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as *sârvadhâtuka* and *ârdhadhâtuka* at one and the same time; as उपस्थेयाम् शरणं बृहन्तम् । Here, by treating the affix as *sârvadhâtuka*, there is elision of स in the लिङ् (VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as *ârdhadhâtuka*, the आ of स्था is changed into ए । So also in स्वस्ति the affix is treated as *sârvadhâtuka* and there is no substitution of भू for अस् as required by II. 4. 52.